

SHOOTOUT AT THE EASTERN CORRAL



**Management
betrayal
of "model contract"
spurs conflict
with union**

page 3

New Right stumbles
State of black America
Showdown at Big Mountain
Italy's island playground

2 **New hearing aids for the boss**
5 **P-9 on a suicide mission?**
7 **Fiction's future shocks**
9 **Torture in Pinter place**

12
16
18
21



Are Jerry Falwell and Jesse Helms on the skids?

As fears diminish New Right fades

By John B. Judis

WASHINGTON

In recent years no name seemed to strike more fear in the hearts of liberal Democrats than that of John T. "Terry" Dolan, the scrappy, diminutive founder of the National Conservative Political Action Committee (NCPAC). In the 1978 and 1980 Senate races—which retired an entire generation of liberal Democrats, including George McGovern, Birch Bayh and Frank Church—it was NCPAC that justly took much of the credit for the conservative Republican victories.

But six years later, NCPAC is in disarray. It is saddled with a \$3 million debt left over from its unsuccessful and highly superfluous independent expenditure campaign for Ronald Reagan in 1984. Its only visible project for 1986 had been a "truth squad" to harass Gary Hart if he had run for re-election in Colorado. And for 1988, its principal activity is an attempt to get Republicans to sign a pledge committing the party to a right-wing platform. At a press conference called on February 1 to announce the new program, I was one of two journalists present. Four or six years ago the room would have been overflowing with the press.

A few questions revealed what the new project was really about. No, Dolan didn't want to get the presidential candidates themselves to sign the pledge (most would on the basis of the issues). Yes, if they did sign, it would detract from NCPAC's ability to raise money through the mail for the pledge. "It would kill the mail," Dolan admitted. In short, the principal purpose of "the pledge" appeared to be fundraising for NCPAC.

Dolan and NCPAC are not alone, however, in suffering from political doldrums this year: all the principal activists, consultants and organizations identified with the New Right have been affected. In Dolan's own words, there is a "pall" hanging over the once triumphant New Right.

Direct-mail woes

The New Right organizations got their start in the mid and late '70s. They sought to unite Republican economic conservatives and Democratic social conservatives in a new majority coalition. Their strident appeal rested on a foundation of direct-mail fundraising, solicited by Richard Viguerie and the other direct-mail specialists he trained. The New Right organizers saw themselves building a new mass movement through the mails.

Prior to the 1980 election, they forged an alliance with right-wing evangelical Protestant ministers like Rev. Jerry Falwell and Pat Robertson, gaining not only a new constituency but a new means of reaching them: through television as well as the mails. The Moral Majority, founded by Falwell and Conservative Caucus Chairman Howard Phillips (a Jew), was the basic organization of the new alliance.

But now both wings of the New Right are crumbling. Viguerie's empire, erected in a large office building on Leesburg Pike in Virginia, is collapsing. His direct-mail accounts are down. He has suffered one financial reverse after another from investments in hotels and restaurants along the Pike. Banks are suing him for overdue loans. Last year he spent \$500,000 of his own money unsuccessfully trying to gain the Republican nomination for lieutenant governor in Virginia (he came in a distant third). He has now had to sell *Conservative Digest*, the magazine he published on Leesburg Pike; he has cut his staff from 200 to 70; and he has put his building up for sale.

Many of Viguerie's problems stemmed from a mode of operation that knew no failure. "We used to say, 'There's a right way, a wrong way and the Viguerie way,'" said Lee Edwards, who was the editor of *Conservative Digest*. "Money was never a consideration, and it has finally caught up with him."

Falwell has also suffered reverses. In 1984 Democrats discovered that Falwell's support could be used against Republicans. The only time that Democratic candidate Walter Mondale showed gains in Republican polls was when his campaign ran a hard-hitting commercial warning that if Reagan were re-elected Falwell would choose the Supreme Court. (Yet the Mondale campaign chose to yank it after a week.) Reagan campaign official Edward Rollins said that Falwell had "the highest negatives of anyone except Khomeini."

In the important Virginia state races last November, the Democratic gubernatorial candidate exploited Falwell's support of his Republican opponent Wyatt Durrette. Later, Republican officials blamed Durrette's links to Falwell and the New Right for his defeat.

Republican opinion polls have also revealed the low opinion that many voters had of Falwell. According to a poll by Robert Teeter, the public responds far more negatively to Falwell than it does to Sen. Edward Kennedy, actress Jane Fonda or former Alabama Gov. George Wallace. On a scale of 100 favorable and zero unfavorable, Reagan scored a 68.3, Kennedy a 54, Fonda a 43 and Falwell a 33.1.

These findings have not been lost on Falwell. Last month, in a move designed ostensibly to escape his own bad publicity, Falwell changed the name of Moral Majority to the Liberty Federation. In a press conference, Falwell admitted that fundraising for the Moral Majority had become "soft."

Even Sen. Jesse Helms' Congressional Club, one of the bulwarks of the New Right, has suffered reverses. Last year Helms' protege, Sen. John East—whom the Congressional Club lifted from obscurity in 1980—announced that ill health was preventing him from running for re-election. Popular House Republican James T. Broyhill announced that he would run for East's seat. But although he has a conservative voting record, Broyhill was not part of the Congressional Club's network of supporters and partisans. Helms' organization immediately announced that it would field a candidate of its own, professor David Funderbunk.

Funderbunk has run the usual Helms-style commercials attacking Broyhill for voting to make Martin Luther King's birthday a national holiday. But North Carolina's Republican Party has closed ranks behind Broyhill—not even allowing Funderbunk to speak at a Lincoln Day Republican dinner. The state's Republicans, who tend to be more "establishment" than "New Right," are expected to rebuke Funderbunk in the primary.

Reagan blunts New Right

According to Dolan, the New Right is principally suffering from its own success. "People are so satisfied with the administration that they are not interested in us," he told me. "There has to be some kind of crisis, a rallying point, but there isn't now."

THE STORY INSIDE

Dolan's analysis is essentially correct. The success of the New Right was based upon widely shared popular fears of national moral and economic decline, which were fueled by the inflation of the Carter years and the Iranian hostage crisis. There never was widespread support for the extreme positions on abortion or the budget that the New Right leaders espoused. Their appeal never rested on support for their positions, but on stoking popular fear of what a George McGovern or Walter Mondale would do.

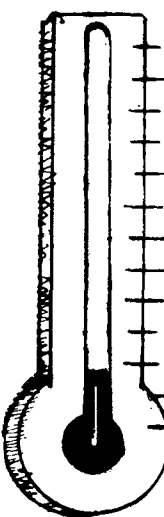
Direct-mail appeals were particularly dependent upon a prevailing climate of hysteria: Russians at the White House gates, black teenagers taking over neighborhoods, garbage cans filled with the unborn. But if Ronald Reagan has succeeded at anything, it has been at calming the public and making it far less susceptible to the New Right's appeals.

It would be wrong, however, to conclude that the New Right's failure will be the new left's success. The New Right's political defeats—say, in the Virginia state races last November—have not been at the hands of the left, but the center. The Democratic ticket that swept the Republicans were pledged to tight-fisted fiscal control and to upholding Virginia's right-to-work laws.

It is not the Rev. Jesse Jackson or Sen. Edward Kennedy who is holding the door as the New Right flies into oblivion; it is Senate Majority Leader Robert Dole, New Jersey Republican Gov. Edward Kean and former Virginia Gov. Chuck Robb.

Please help now!

Goal: \$125,000



Received:
\$28,243

Last week our total of contributions and pledges fell off to \$2,696, giving us a total, so far, of \$28,243. Our goal, which we must reach this year to keep growing, is \$125,000. That is just half of all we must raise, the amount we must raise from you, our subscribers.

We hope to come a lot closer to this goal in this fund drive, so we won't be left with an emergency in the summer. But to do so will take a quick upturn in the amount now being received each day.

So please sit down and write out a check today. It's your way to assure that we will continue to publish, and to maintain our high standards.

IN THESE TIMES

The Independent
Socialist Newspaper

(ISSN 0160-5992)

Published 41 times a year: weekly except the first week of January, first week of March, last week of November, last week of December; bi-weekly in June through the first week in September by Institute for Public Affairs, 1300 W. Belmont, Chicago, IL 60657, (312) 472-5700

Member: Alternative Press Syndicate

Editor

JAMES WEINSTEIN

Senior Editors Managing Editor

JOHN B. JUDIS SHERYL LARSON

DAVID MOBERG

Features Editor/Staff Writer

SALIM MUWAKKIL

Culture Editor

PATRICIA AUFDERHEIDE

European Editor

DIANA JOHNSTONE

California Bureau

(415) 531-7182

JOAN WALSH

Assistant Managing Editor/Books Editor

JEFF REID

In Short Editor

RACHEL STERNBERG

Editorial Assistant

FRIEDA GORDON LANDAU

Editorial Interns

ELLEN MOODIE BILL KRANSDORF

(California Bureau)

Art Director

MILES DE COSTER

Associate Art Director

NICOLE FERENTZ

Assistant Art Director

PETER HANNAN

Statman

PAUL COMSTOCK

Typesetter

JIM RINNERT

Publisher

JAMES WEINSTEIN

Business Systems

ALFRED DALE

Assistant Publisher

RALPH MEDLEY

Advertising Director

CYNTHIA DIAZ

Advertising Assistant

BRUCE EMBREY

Office Manager/Receptionist

HANIA RICHMOND

Business/Development Assistant

LOUIS HIRSCH

Accounting Systems Consultant

JAMES SHATTELL

Receptionist

DONNA THOMAS

Circulation Director

LEENIE FOLSOM

Circulation Manager

GEORGE GORHAM

Fulfillment Manager

DANIEL C. STICCO

Circulation Assistant

DONNA JOHNSON

Circulation Telemarketer

PAUL BATITSAS

Sponsors

Robert Allen, Julian Bond, Noam Chomsky, Barry Commoner, Al Curtis, Hugh DeLacy, G. Douglas Dowd, David DuBois, Barbara Ehrenreich, Daniel Ellsberg, Barbara Garson, Emily Gibson, Michael Harrington, Dorothy Healey, David Horowitz, Paul Jacobs (1918-1978), Ann J. Lane, Elinor Langer, Jesse Lemisch, Salvador Luria, Staughton Lynd, Carey McWilliams (1905-1980), Jacques Marchand, Herbert Marcuse (1899-1979), David Montgomery, Carlos Munoz, Harvey O'Connor, Earl Ofari, Seymour Posner, Ronald Radosh, Jeremy Rifkin, Paul Schrade, William Sennett, Derek Shearer, Stan Steiner, Warren Susman (1927-1985), E.P. Thompson, Naomi Weinstein, William A. Williams, John Womack, Jr.

The entire contents of *In These Times* are copyright ©1986 by Institute for Public Affairs, and may not be reproduced in any manner, either whole or in part, without permission of the publisher. Complete issues of *In These Times* are available from University Microfilms International, Ann Arbor, MI. Selected articles are available on 4-track cassette from Freedom Ideas International, 640 Bayside, Detroit, MI 48217. All rights reserved. *In These Times* is indexed in the Alternative Press Index. Publisher does not assume liability for unsolicited manuscripts or material. Manuscripts or material unaccompanied by stamped, self-addressed envelope will not be returned. All correspondence should be sent to: *In These Times*, 1300 W. Belmont Ave., Chicago, IL 60657. Subscriptions are \$29.50 a year (\$59 for institutions; \$35 outside the U.S. and its possessions). Advertising rates sent on request. Back issues \$3; specify volume and number. All letters received by *In These Times* become property of the newspaper. We reserve the right to print letters in condensed form. Second-class postage paid at Chicago, IL, and at additional mailing offices. Postmaster: Send address changes to *In These Times*, 1300 W. Belmont, Chicago, IL 60657. This issue (Vol. 10, No. 14) published Feb. 26, 1986, for newsstand sales Feb. 26-March 11, 1986.

By David Moberg

EASTERN AIRLINES, THE NATION'S third largest carrier, has reached a moment of crisis—once again. In the past decade Eastern management has often threatened bankruptcy to force worker concessions. Meanwhile, a management that was rated by a *Fortune* survey of top executives and analysts as among the least competent in major U.S. corporations has accumulated massive debt and mismanaged an airline that already faced severe competitive pressures.

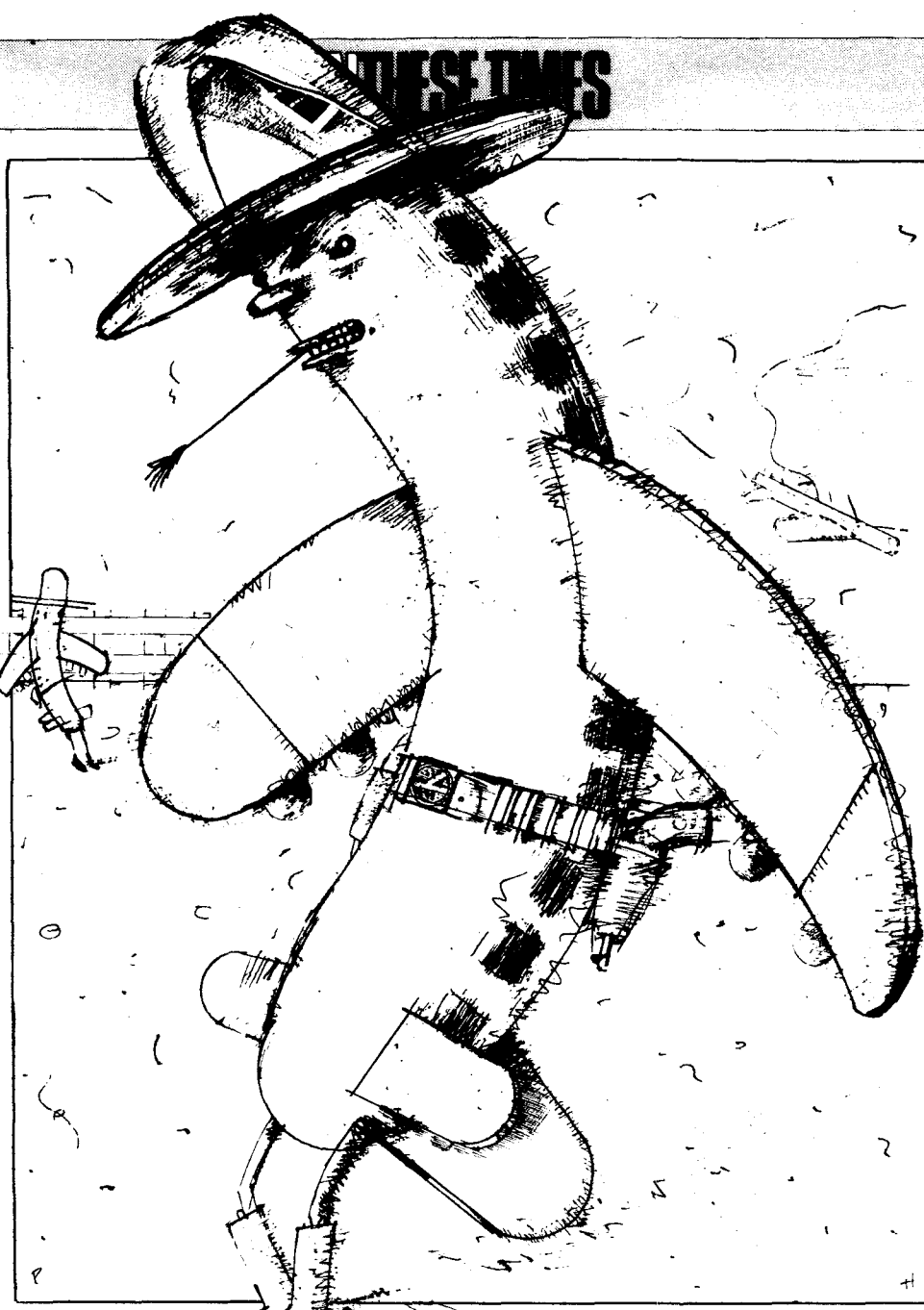
The Eastern unions, led by the Machinists' District 100, have often fought back with imagination to limit concessions. In 1983, after a prolonged battle, the pilots, flight attendants of the Transport Workers Union (TWU) and machinists agreed to a temporary wage reduction in exchange for 25 percent of company stock, access to confidential corporate financial information and influence at all company levels. The machinists in particular sought ways to improve company efficiency. They simultaneously made their work lives better and saved money, an alternative to bailing out the company through cuts in their pay.

Despite its problems, the cooperative agreement was hailed as a success in *Harvard Business Review* and the *Wall Street Journal*, and Eastern's "model contract" viewed favorably, if still much debated, among union-oriented intellectuals.

But former astronaut Frank Borman, Eastern's chairman of the board, along with other managers and the banks that have loaned a large part of Eastern's \$2.5 billion debt, remained firmly in control despite the innovative worker inroads. Last year, for example, Borman unilaterally reneged on the contractual promise to restore the 18 percent wage cut in force during 1984. Through negotiations the pilots and machinists eventually won gradual restoration of wages by the beginning of 1986, but the flight attendants have been forced into court to restore their gains.

Early last year, despite such management betrayals, the agreement seemed to be working. Eastern was making record profits, buoyed by passengers diverted by strikes at Pan American and United. Machinists were finding new efficiencies that saved the company \$85 million, according to Borman. Then the bottom fell out, and Eastern lost \$67.5 million in the fourth quarter of 1985, ending the year with a \$6.3 million profit, its first since 1979. In November Borman and new President Joseph Leonard wrote to employees that the company could no longer be satisfied with "band-aids"—their term for the \$1 billion in concessions over the past decade, half of that in the past two years. They called instead for a "restructuring of our employment costs."

The flight attendants, 86 percent of whom are women, got the first taste of "restructuring." Their pay was reduced on the average 32 to 38 percent—and as much as 60 percent in pay cuts counting all work-rule changes—according to their estimate. Most galling, flight attendants are now paid only for actual time flying, even though many of their duties are on the ground, including new responsibilities replacing gate agents. That is a reversion to 30 years ago, TWU Communications Coordinator Gail Nicholson said, referring to the time before several unions made flight attendants the most strongly unionized, predominately female occupation. The company has eliminated all limits on the time that attendants can be held on duty (and Fair Labor Standards regulations of work hours and overtime do not apply to them). Eastern has dictated that the one required day off can be scheduled on layovers away from home and eliminated layover expense accounts (so some attendants now carry sleeping bags to stay with other attendants rather than pay for hotels out of pocket). Management also announced layoffs of 1,010 attendants, one-seventh of the total.



Barely managing to stay aloft at Eastern

These "severe and harsh terms," as Eastern Vice-President Jerry Cosley described them, were imposed January 20, when a required 30-day cooling-off period ended. Flight attendants postponed a strike decision until March 1. Nicholson and others were convinced that management wanted a strike; management people trained as replacements were waiting throughout the Eastern system. But flight attendants realized that Eastern considered them the weakest union and, as women, the most easily attacked.

They decided to wait until after two other crucial deadlines have passed. Pilots must reach an agreement by March 25. If they don't, they are prepared to strike, having built up an \$8 million strike fund and prepared pilots and families in the same way that the union did successfully last year in fighting United. Although Eastern will try to operate during a strike with management replacing strikers, Cosley said the company will not hire strikebreakers. And it would likely have a hard time replacing pilots because of a severe pilot shortage.

It is possible, however, that pilots will reach an agreement. They have offered Eastern 20 percent pay cuts for three years worth \$300 million, but management wants additional work rule changes to increase flying time and to make the 20 percent cut permanent.

Pilots set tone

If the pilots settle, it will put pressure on the other unions. Pilots at Eastern, like many other airlines, have a bad record of supporting other unions. The flight attendants could be forced to strike with only support from the Machinists, who have a good record at Eastern of honoring other picket lines.

If the pilots make concessions, they will do it on the condition that other unions follow a similar path. That would put pressure on mechanics, whose contract does not expire until the end of 1987, and on flight

attendants—workers who make roughly one-fourth to one-third of what pilots earn (an average of more than \$100,000 a year counting pensions and other payments, about \$70,000 in direct salary). Despite some coordination, the three unions are handling negotiations separately, permitting Borman to play them off each other once again.

"Pilots are in the driver's seat," Machinist District 100 Vice President Russ McGarry said. "If they make a deal, that brings us out of the dugout—even if we don't want to."

Who's in the driver's seat?

Borman would like everyone to think the bankers are in the driver's seat, as he uses them as a battering ram against the workers. The banks, led by Chase Manhattan and Citibank, have set February 28 as a deadline for Eastern to be in compliance with such loan terms as maintaining a certain debt-to-equity ratio. If it isn't, the creditors could declare Eastern in default and accelerate debt collection, raise interest rates or otherwise attempt to secure those debts. They want new labor agreements to be signed by then. In the past, after similar crisis negotiations, the banks have usually temporarily suspended terms, only to leave the Damoclean default sword hanging over the company and unions a year later.

Another looming threat is bankruptcy. Many unionists believe Borman wants a strike—if not to break the unions then to provide clear justification for using bankruptcy proceedings to gut contracts and restructure debt. Some think unions might even do better in bankruptcy court than under the terms Eastern wants to impose.

Ironically, the unions see the strike as a potential management weapon and are doing everything possible to maintain service and to find ways to run the company better.

In January the three unions urged their members to buy stock. Although they have

not announced specific plans, they may run an alternative slate for the board of directors to replace Borman and other top managers. At first only a handful of workers appeared interested. But that changed when management acted to discourage a takeover and moved up the stockholders meeting from June to April 11, setting February 11 as the final "date of record" for purchasing stock.

Angered by this maneuver, Eastern workers lined up to buy stock. Nobody knows how much they now own. But the union trust set up as part of the 1983 settlement controls 20 percent of Eastern stock, and many employees already had large stockholdings individually—and 30 percent of outstanding Eastern shares recently changed hands. Some union advisers believe that institutional stockholders as well as investors—disgruntled by the lack of dividends since 1969—might support a challenge of management. If some large outside investor became involved—with cooperation from the unions—that would help. "What does Eastern management have to say for itself?" one union adviser asked. "Nothing, absolutely nothing, from the stockholders' view."

The threat of a union-led stockholder challenge has management worried. Company directors hired an outside attorney—independent of management—in a seeming attempt to distance themselves from Borman or to protect themselves from charges of fiduciary irresponsibility. During the past year and a half, District 100 President Charles Bryan has presented his fellow board members detailed reports on cost-saving measures management could have taken but did not. This makes them vulnerable to legal attack, and recently the board set aside \$20 million to protect themselves when their liability insurance coverage was reduced.

The union has retained a New York law firm that has specialized in takeover bids. The threat is a new weapon in labor's arsenal. Already airline unions have deployed high-finance maneuvers to bolster their position, buying out Frontier Airlines.

Ousting Borman

All the unions, especially the machinists and flight attendants, want to get rid of Borman. "Charlie Bryan has made it clear that he does not intend to open this contract," said McGarry. "The last thing he said was that he wouldn't open this contract under this management, which leaves a crack in the door. We feel you can't go on forever giving to someone who doesn't know what to do with the money."

Deregulation and overcapacity in the industry—coupled with continuing expansion by newcomers and established carriers—and the presence of low-wage, non-union companies have squeezed operating margins throughout the industry. But Eastern has other problems. It relies more heavily than most major carriers on tourist travel, which is more vulnerable to low-fare competition and less profitable than business travel.

Partly because it is primarily a north-south carrier, Eastern's average flight is much shorter than United's or American's with their east-west routes. Together these conditions require more people and service expense. Consequently, even though Eastern's wages are not out of line with other major carriers, labor costs as a percentage of revenue are higher than at United and significantly higher than at Eastern archfoe People Express. And competition is likely to increase as American Airlines—which makes money from its reservation system used by most travel agents and from its new two-tier wage arrangement—expands two new hub-and-spoke operations into Eastern's territory.

Eastern also pays out \$270 million a year in debt service—twice the next highest in the industry—as a result of Borman's airplane-buying spree in the late '70s and early '80s. If it had Delta's capital structure it would be more profitable than Delta, one of the most lucrative carriers, according to one consultant. With fuel prices falling,

Continued on page 22

By Salim Muwakkil

THE REAGAN BOOM HAS BEEN A bust for most black Americans. While the U.S. economy continues its sustained recovery from the 1982-83 recession, the black population has yet to recover from the recession of 1975.

As the gap between black and white per capita income widens, more blacks live in poverty and the poor get poorer. Incredibly, more than half of all black children grow up in poverty. And if the Reaganomic mindset now extant remains in place much longer, a permanent division between haves and have-nots—with all its disturbing racial implications—will develop and pose an enormous threat to this country's survival.

That is the essential message of the National Urban League's report, *The State of Black America 1986*. Published annually since 1976, the report has become one of the most comprehensive, up-to-date sources of information on conditions in the black community. The 1986 edition contains papers on blacks' economic, educational and political status, as well as studies on teenage pregnancy and national housing policies. Most of the authors are academics with national reputations in their respective fields.

For the first time in its 10-year history, the publication also includes an essay openly critical of traditional civil rights strategies. Although the inclusion of the essay, "Beyond Civil Rights" by neoconservative economist Glenn Loury, has been characterized by some League officials as an obligatory gesture, it nonetheless indicates the civil rights establishment's readiness to consider ideas it once deemed heretical.

Of course, much of this new open-mindedness stems from a growing consensus that traditional methods are ineffective in addressing the black community's bewildering array of problems. And the realization that the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings deficit reduction plan may make "beyond civil rights" a *fait accompli* has also motivated black leadership to seek alternatives.

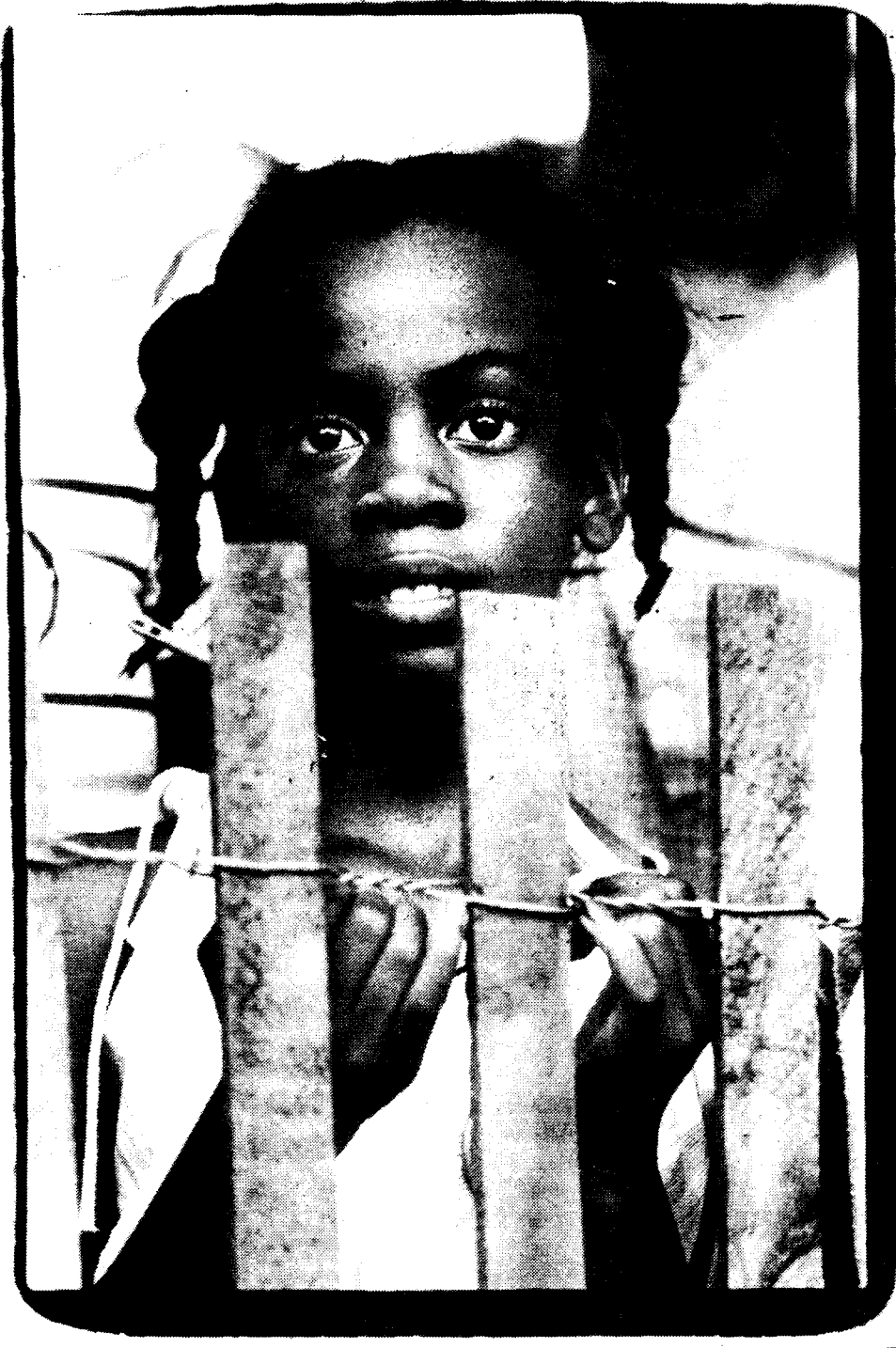
"Evoking civil rights remedies for circumstances to which they are not suited can obviate the pursuit of alternative, more direct and effective approaches to the problem," Loury writes in the report. Loury, a professor of political economy at Harvard's John F. Kennedy School of Government, argues that the greatest obstacle to black progress is the "enemy within"—sociopathic behavior patterns—that prevents blacks from taking advantage of the opportunities made possible by past civil rights struggles.

New voices

Urban League President John Jacob explains in the report's introduction that his organization has differences with Loury and other "new voices that are raising questions about policies and approaches toward solving problems that afflict this community. 'We are in disagreement with a number of their basic tenets, particularly those that oppose affirmative action in employment and other areas, and government sponsored programs that serve the needy.... These reservations notwithstanding, we believe that encouraging dialog on opposing ideas is a healthy process out of which positive things can come.'"

Jacob goes out of his way to establish his objections to Loury's position, yet he writes, "The most significant development in black America in 1985 was the growing activism within the black community to deal with problems like teenage pregnancy, education, crime and the plight of female-headed households...."

While praising this indigenous activism, Jacob still downplays his sympathy for it. The so-called social issues targeted by this new thrust have long been considered out of bounds for civil righters; questions of values and culture were traditionally ceded to conservatives or religious fundamentalists. And since Jacob is struggling to assert the League as a genuine black voice in the civil rights tradition, he must refrain



Lionel Delvingne

CIVIL RIGHTS

Merging strategies to aid black America

from sounding like a conservative—though he may agree with much of Loury's argument.

Since Jacob's assumption of leadership in 1982, the Urban League has taken on a role as conciliator between the black liberation movement's two strands: militant integrationism (civil rights strategies) and separatism (black nationalist strategies). Though it may be tempting to divide those tendencies into left-right political dichotomies, such a division is not accurate. Since, as Manning Marable points out in his book *Black American Politics*, African-Americans found themselves suspended between a lost African culture and a forbidden European one, "...the conscious struggle for power is historically for black Americans a dual dynamic: it has been both antiracist and nationalistic; it has attacked racial segregation yet affirmed the cultural and social integrity of Afro-American people."

This sensitivity to both movement strands reflects the League's history. It was founded in 1911 as a social-work agency concerned with opening industrial opportunities for blacks. Since the League's board was generally comprised of white business people and black conservatives, it was considered by far the most conservative of the civil rights groups. When Whitney Young Jr. took over in 1961 he shifted the organization into the civil rights mainstream—where it remains since Jacob's ascension. Now that he has the confidence of a few years under his belt, Jacob appears to be expanding the group's scope.

Not so strange bedfellows

The growing popularity of black neoconser-

vatives like Loury and Thomas Sowell coincides with the growth of black nationalist sentiments—embodied by Louis Farrakhan's popularity—and also has historical precedent. When the general society casts a cold eye on the black community's interests, black Americans turn toward nationalism. Though ostensibly at odds, black neoconservatism and nationalism have much in common. Both groups look to Booker T. Washington as a beacon of insight; many nationalists (Marcus Garvey, Elijah Muhammad), have strongly espoused capitalism. Both groups urge blacks to become more self-reliant, work-oriented and morality conscious. They call for a transformation of culture. This is necessary because the cultural tendencies of African-Americans were subverted and fragmented

"Do we, the growing black middle class, acknowledge our responsibility to sacrifice time and resources to help our less fortunate brothers and sisters?"

by their enslavement in the West.

The neoconservatives contend that success-oriented cultural patterns will evolve naturally as blacks move increasingly into the economic mainstream, and as middle-class blacks return to poor communities to provide volunteer services and serve as role models. The nationalists seek to effect this cultural transformation through a behavioral shortcut: authoritarian discipline, thought control and a romantic identification with African folkways.

But nationalistic tendencies have also been prominent in the civil rights movement. W.E.B. DuBois, perhaps the archetypal civil rights activist, was also an ardent, often rhapsodic, Pan-Africanist. In fact, he is a founder of the Pan-African Congress. And although DuBois and black nationalist Marcus Garvey opposed each other on several domestic strategies, these bitter antagonists were in concert on many issues concerning Africa and the African diaspora.

Rev. Jesse Jackson is another example of what may be called a civil rights nationalist. He has adopted a world view consistent with most of the prominent nationalists and he is dimming the memory of the days when it was considered inappropriate for black leaders to speak out on foreign affairs. And Jackson often uses the cultural language of the nationalists. His exhortation, "No one is going to save us but us," is an example; many of Jackson's ideas, though more poetically expressed, are identical to the neoconservatives'.

The enemy within

In the conclusion of *State of Black America 1986*, the move toward increasing black self-sufficiency is praised and heralded as the beginning of a new national movement. "There is a growing movement within this community that emphasizes doing more for ourselves. And it is not a movement of despair, but rather one of high hopes born out of the conviction that while we cannot change some circumstances, there are many things we can do to set our house in order."

The power of these black neoconservatives' arguments has forced the civil rights establishment to sit up and take note. Although there is still some defensiveness in some parts of the civil rights community—the NAACP, for example, has categorically rejected the ideas of Loury, Sowell *et al*—there is new interest in these ideas. And there is a growing understanding that the African-American plight results from a dynamic interplay between ghetto-specific cultural characteristics and social and economic opportunities, as well as less of a tendency to attribute blacks' economic condition simply to racism or white malice.

More civil righters now agree with Loury when he says, "My concern is that too much of the political energy, talent and imagination abundant in the emerging black middle class is being channeled into a struggle against the enemy without, while the enemy within goes relatively unchecked."

Despite this, the Urban League report concludes: "there are certain problems that cannot be solved without the assistance of the government and avoiding them today—as the present administration has done—can only make them that much more difficult to solve in the future." The first 18 of the report's 24 recommendations detail what Congress or the president should do. Nowhere on the list of recommendations, for example, does the word "crime" appear, yet crime remains the number one issue in most black urban communities. There is still a powerful reluctance to turn and face the enemy within.

The call for an increasing effort on the part of the black middle class to step up its activity on behalf of the growing black underclass is barely perceptible in the report's recommendations. "Do we who are part of the small but growing black middle class acknowledge our responsibility to sacrifice time and resources to help our brothers and sisters who are less fortunate?" asks Eddie Williams, president of the Joint Center for Political Studies. It's a good question, and, as Williams points out, neoconservatives shouldn't be the only ones asking it. ■

NEBRASKA

Girls Club vs. single mother: who is setting a bad example?

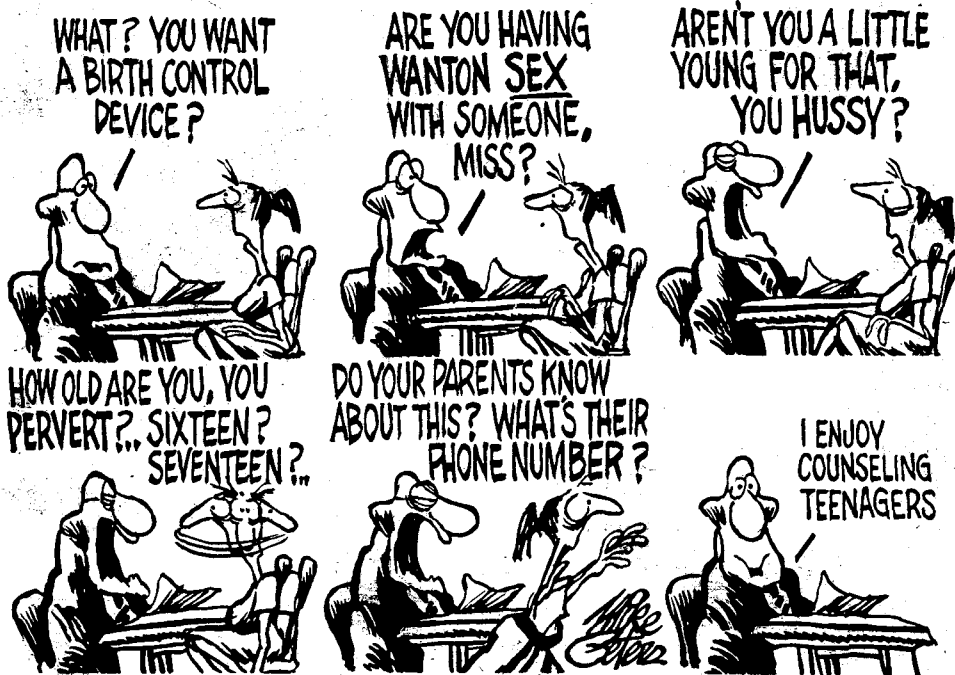
By Jane Juffer

WHEN CRYSTAL CHAMBERS was fired from her job with the Omaha Girls Club in 1982 for being pregnant out of wedlock, she knew she faced the bleak future of a single, unemployed mother. What she didn't foresee was that her case would develop into a lawsuit with potentially far-reaching implications for the Title VII amendment prohibiting pregnancy discrimination on the job.

On February 11 Chief U.S. District Judge C. Arlen Beam dismissed Chambers' claims of race, marital status and sex discrimination for which she sought \$1 million in damages from the club. The judge ruled that the club's reasoning for its ban on single parent staffers was legitimate: the club needed to provide positive role models in the battle against teen pregnancies.

In an effort to limit the impact of his ruling, Judge Beam justified the Girls Club policy by citing the "unique mission" of the club, the age group of its membership (mostly between eight and 13), the geographic locations of the club (Omaha's predominantly black north side) and the "comprehensive methods" of the club in dealing with teen pregnancy. "The decision will not be applicable in many other situations," Beam said.

But the impact of the decision, if not overturned, would extend far beyond Omaha, say civil rights leaders. "This has broad ramifications for anyone who looks



at it with any depth," said Buddy Hogan, president of the Omaha chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. "It's not just Crystal Chambers versus the Girls Club."

Omaha, particularly the black community, has been sharply split by the case, beginning in 1982 when Chambers' appeal was rejected by the Nebraska Equal Opportunity Commission. On one hand are those who believe Chambers' civil rights were violated and that, as her lawyers say, the entire policy is racially motivated because of the number of black women who bear children out of wedlock. "An employer should not—

and may not under any law, impose a standard wholly unrelated to the employee's performance," Hogan said. "The Girls Club said you have the responsibility not only to do your job, but also to adhere to our moral standards. That's unconstitutional."

But others say the policy is an effort to deter the startling number of teen pregnancies. In Omaha last year, the pregnancy rate among black teens was 26 percent. Clarence Barbee, a black and principal of Horace Mann Ninth Grade Center, and who chaired the club's personnel committee when Chambers was fired, says, "It wasn't a moral issue. It was an issue of setting a good example for some of our youngsters—giving our youngsters an alternative to pregnancy."

The issue is complicated by the fact that the club, although its membership is 90 percent black, is run by a white executive director and a predominantly white board. Thus, while the club's efforts are generally lauded by the black community (12 percent of Omaha's 350,000 population), there is a certain amount of resentment toward a group of "outsiders" setting the moral standards.

"The Girls Club policy is another example of how the power structure imposes its ethics on our community," said the Rev. W.M. Harper of the Metropolitan Missionary Baptist Church on the north side. "Until the heads of the organization are able to sit down with our community so they can be sensitized to us, they have no conception of the morals and ethnicity of the blacks, not to mention the Indians and Hispanics."

Ironically, without the financial pull of the board, which includes such "heavyweights" as Marian Andersen, wife of Omaha World-Herald President Harold Andersen, the club would fold, Hogan says. The newspaper, Omaha's only daily, has editorialized since 1982 in support of the club's decision to fire Chambers and another employee in a similar situation.

During testimony in the 14-day trial ending January 28, Girls Club attorney Robert D. Mullin Jr. described the policy as a bona fide occupational qualification, which he said was justified as "legally sanctioned discrimination" under a Title VII exemption. "The bona fide occupational qualification" was the same phrase the Nebraska Equal Opportunity Commission used in 1982 when it overturned an investigator's finding of discrimination against Chambers.

At the crux of the matter lies the question of role modeling. The club maintains that Chambers would have been a negative role model; but others, including Rodney Weed, director of Omaha's United Methodist Community Center, disagree. When he was growing up in Omaha, he said during testimony, many of his friends were the children of unmarried mothers. "Our role models were these mothers. They raised us and

taught us right and wrong. There are many single mothers in the black community."

Chambers could have been exactly the kind of role model desperately needed by teenage girls—that of a young, unwed mother making it without welfare, said Dr. Harriette McAdoo, a Howard University professor who testified on behalf of Chambers. "Many of the girls will find themselves in a similar situation," she said after Beam's ruling. "One who attempts to maintain herself without welfare provides a good role model, although not the traditional role model. I can understand why they [Girls Club directors] would want to have a certain role model, but it may not be viable in today's world."

The club's policy also contributes to the feminization of poverty and is particularly insensitive to the situation of black women, McAdoo says. What happened to Chambers is a case in point.

In 1982, Chambers, then 21, was promoted from part-time arts and crafts instructor, a needed boost, considering her pregnancy. Shortly thereafter she told her supervisor she was two months pregnant. Chambers was informed she would be dismissed two months later, when she began to show. Although employees had been told informally in October of 1981 that the club would not allow unwed pregnant staffers, the board did not adopt the policy until the following March, one month after Chambers was notified of her dismissal. "We had the policy," Barbee said. "We were trying to decide whether to implement it. It was a matter of clarification."

Chambers' last day at work was April 15. In September she gave birth to a girl, Ruth. Since then, she has worked for a temporary employment service at various times, and is receiving Aid to Dependent Children and food stamps. In 1983 she attempted suicide by taking a pill overdose. An Omaha psychiatrist who treated her testified that her depression was caused by the prospects of raising her child alone and the loss of respect from friends and co-workers.

"Here was a young woman who was gainfully employed; she was committed to her job, fulfilling a mission," said Hogan, who knows the family.

Girls Club Director Mary Heng-Braun says the club realizes the possible adverse

The issue is complicated by the fact that although Omaha Girls Club membership is 90 percent black, the club is run by a white executive director and a predominantly white board.

impact of its policy on employees. But, she adds, its first responsibility is to its young members. "What we're trying to counter is the idea that single-parent pregnancy for these girls is inevitable. We're saying we are a change agent."

Some critics of the policy say it encourages employees to seek abortion to avoid losing their jobs. One employee testified during the Chambers case that she had an abortion while working at the club and kept her job—although she maintained that the reason was not solely job-related.

"We applaud our women for keeping their fetus, rather than having it aborted," said the Rev. Harper. "To be penalized for keeping her baby and staying off welfare smacks of discrimination and is a violation of constitutional rights."

Jane Juffer is an Omaha-based journalist.

WORKERS TRUST HEALTH PLAN

"Insurance"
Doesn't Have
To Be A
Dirty Word...

NEW
\$100 and \$500 deductibles

Over 600 democratically-managed businesses and organizations nationwide have joined Workers Trust, a non-profit cooperative association. The Workers Trust Health Plan offers an outstanding range of benefits in a context of socially progressive business practice.

- **Pro-Women and Families**

Annual GYN exam, PAP smear, pregnancy, abortion, infertility treatment, well-baby care, home birth and more. Non-married partners also eligible.

- **Low Group Rates**

For progressive businesses and self-employed people. \$100 and \$500 deductibles. No sex bias in rate structure.

- **Socially Responsible Investing**

Premium reserves are invested in community credit unions, community economic development funds, and socially responsible money market funds across the country.

- **Alternative Health Care**

Chiropractic, acupuncture, homeopathic, naturopathic, and more, as well as standard medical coverage.

- **Dental Plan Available**

Choose your own dentist and receive 100% coverage for preventive care, including cleaning, x-rays and exams.

...Call Now and Find Out Why.



Workers Trust
SERVICES FOR THE DEMOCRATIC WORKPLACE

Call Toll Free: 1-800-447-2345

In Oregon: 1-800-632-2220

Or Write: P.O. Box 11618, Eugene, OR 97440

The Workers Trust Health and Dental Plans are available only to progressive businesses and the self-employed. Not available in New York state.

INDIANS

Showdown at Big Mountain

By Richard Lawrence

IN THE FOUR CORNERS REGION OF THE Southwest the U.S. is preparing for a possible military confrontation with Indians this summer. Although the Reagan administration says it would prefer to avoid the showdown, Sen. Barry Goldwater (R-AR) has staked a fair amount of his political and personal ego on successfully completing the mission before he retires at year's end.

His mission is to clear the one million acre area high atop the Black Mesa in the heart of the mineral-rich Colorado Plateau of its more than 10,000 traditional Dineh (Navajo) Indian inhabitants. Goldwater says a 1974 law requires the removal to be completed by July 7. It is necessary to "settle a Navajo and Hopi land dispute," he claims. Cost of the removal program has risen from the original estimate of \$34 million to more than \$500 million.

Environmental consequences of the removal would be tremendous, since the Navajo and Hopi traditional—Indians who continue to practice ancient tribal customs—are the only remaining barrier to massive strip mining of the entire Black Mesa. In 1974 the National Academy of Sciences concluded that strip mining of such fragile lands in an arid climate would virtually condemn the region as a "national sacrifice area." The area lies over the richest portion of the coal seam.

In the 12 years since the law's passage, a formidable resistance movement has sprung up centered around the land form and community known as Big Mountain. That resistance enjoys wide support among Hopi and Navajo traditional and religious leadership.

If the removal is carried out, it will be the largest peacetime forcible eviction since the Trail of Tears death march of the Cherokee in the 1830s, in which thousands perished. International relocation experts say that to uproot such traditional land-based people is so devastating that, in similar displacements, some 25 percent of the adult population died within a few years.

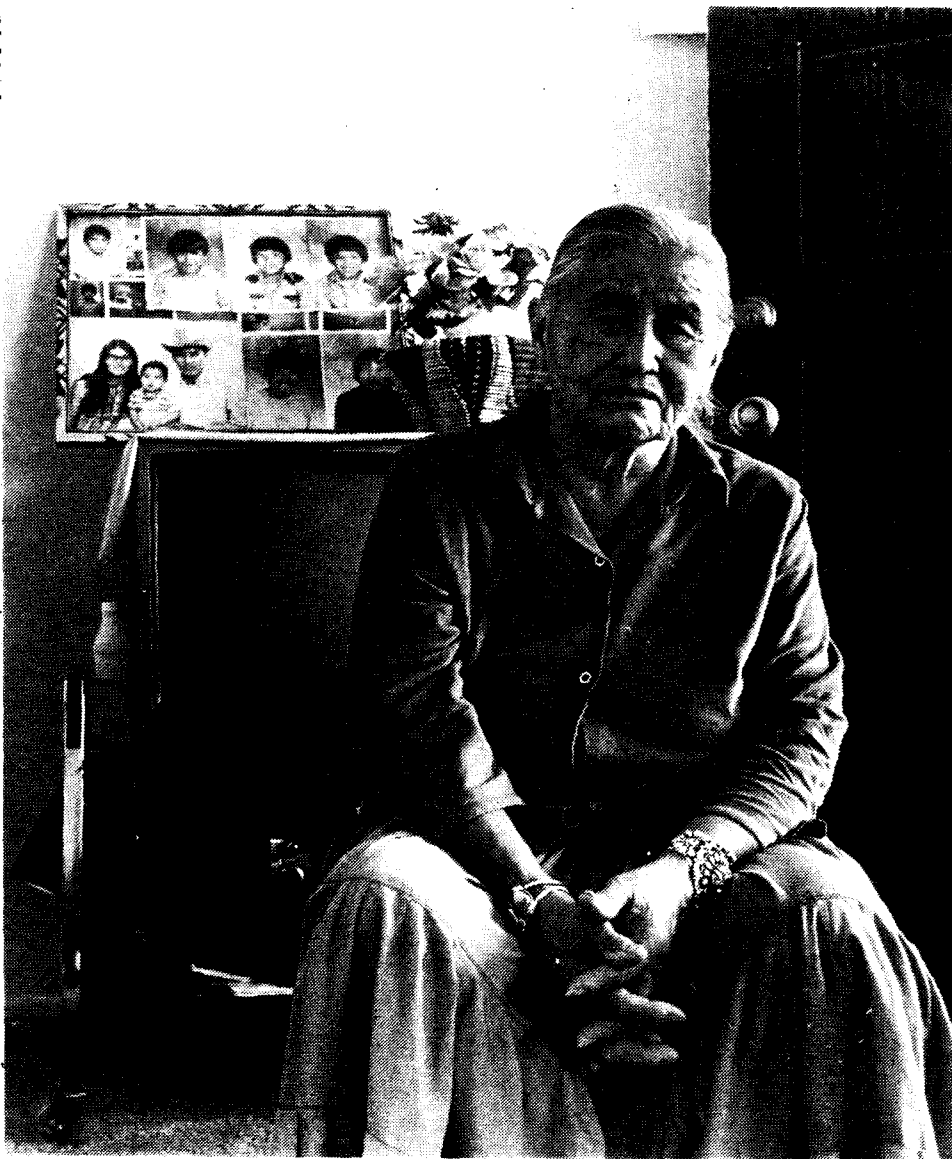
While Goldwater trivializes the resistance, the results of a seven-month investigation headed by Reagan's ex-Secretary of the Interior William Clark suggest otherwise. "A substantial number of Navajo now on the lands will...stand firm against forcible eviction.... [T]hose Navajo who choose to physically resist relocation will be encouraged and assisted in that effort by others, both Indian and non-Indian activists," a report concluded.

Leading the resistance is a traditional Council of Elders, made up largely of Dineh grandmothers, who insist in typical Dineh fashion that they will be "peaceful," but also that they "will resist by all necessary means." In 1979 the Elders issued their "Declaration of Independence" and served notice of their "total resistance." They see their struggle as not only against the U.S. government, but also against the pro-development "progressive" Tribal Councils that govern the reservations and sign away mineral rights.

To these Indians this fight involves much more than white man's law; a people's culture and religion is at stake. "In my native tongue there is no word for relocation," says Dineh Elder Pauline Whitesinger. "To move away means to disappear and never be seen again."

Historical roots

Control of the Southwest has been a shaky proposition for the U.S. ever since it won the area, previously designated "Northern Mexico," in 1848. The region's Indians have been generally unimpressed by the changes in landlords. In possibly the first "American Revolution," the Pueblos united in 1680 with the Navajo and Hopi to throw



This Navajo woman was relocated to Flagstaff, Ariz.

off Spanish rule. The Spanish never reconquered the Hopi.

Conclusion of the "Mexican War" in 1848 was marked by the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, in which the U.S. gained the Southwest but also committed to never removing the native inhabitants. Traditional Navajo and Hopi cite this treaty, among others, when they claim the current removal violates international law.

The 1849 Gold Rush brought a large influx of whites, who called any locals that resisted their intrusion "hostiles." By 1851 the U.S. had declared war on the "marauding" Navajo, a fight that quickly degenerated into a "scorched earth" policy of extermination. The U.S. Civil War aggravated the conflict over control of the Southwest, culminating in Col. Kit Carson's 1863 round-up of every surviving Navajo he could find—about 8,000 in all. He forced them to make the 400-mile "Long Walk" to Fort Sumner in New Mexico. Thousands died during the incarceration. It finally ended in 1868 with the release of the survivors to a tiny reservation in the northwest corner of New Mexico.

In 1871 the U.S. stopped signing Indian treaties and instituted a campaign to "educate" and "civilize" the Indians. By the 1880s Indians—especially the Hopi—were resisting the kidnapping of their children by whites. Their resistance was encouraged by supportive whites living among them.

At this time the U.S. government's Indian Agent for the Southwest lacked jurisdiction to evict the whites, whom the government considered "troublemakers." Thus in 1882 an "Executive Order" was issued creating a 4,000-square-mile rectangle "for the use of the Hopi and...other Indians." Although the white "troublemakers" were promptly evicted, Hopi traditionalist resistance to U.S. intrusion has continued to this day.

The Hopi never surrendered or signed a treaty with Spain, Mexico or the U.S. Their understanding is that they "own" the entire Southwest, not as proprietors but rather as guardians who gladly share that ownership with any others willing to assume responsibility for protecting the land.

This traditionalist attitude toward the land

has caused predictable problems for the U.S. Department of the Interior, and its "primary constituency," the mineral-extraction multinationals, both of which have long recognized the Colorado Plateau's immense wealth of coal, uranium and other resources. Fortunately for these corporations, in the late 1800s federal bureaucrats transferred "Indian Affairs" from the War Department to Interior, where one secretary could oversee Indians and resource exploitation. Since then, when Indians have differed with the U.S. over mining or minerals, the De-

partment of the Interior has usually ruled against Indians in favor of its corporate constituents.

The official government explanation for the Navajo removal is that in 1974 Congress decided to partition the 1882 Executive Order area because Navajo and Hopi were supposedly contesting the area, waging a "range war," dubbed the "Navajo and Hopi Land Dispute." But in fact it grew out of a land claim filed by a white Mormon attorney in 1957 on behalf of the "Hopi tribal chairman."

The partition divides the land between the two tribes. All Navajo and Hopi living on the "wrong side of the fence" must move to the right side, according to the Relocation Act. The U.S. is simply the "peacemaker" between two squabbling Indian tribes. The Act establishes a Relocation Commission to institute the removal. Critics note that no other Indian land claim has been settled by requiring relocation. They also point out that all the other claims would have required white people to move, and therefore the program is racist.

Navajo and Hopi traditionalists insist they have no dispute. And several independent reports, including a 1974 *Washington Post* investigation, found that the "range war," the lawsuits, the legislation, the public-relations campaign and even the "tribal chairman" were literally created and orchestrated by a handful of white lawyers, mostly Mormon. These men worked in the name of the Interior Department, Peabody Coal and the "Hopi Tribe." The object of their machinations was to secure the coal and water rights of the Black Mesa.

Bills similar to the Relocation Act were unsuccessfully introduced in the '50s and '60s. When P.L. 93-531 finally passed in 1974, Congress was distracted by Watergate and the energy crisis. Most Congress members simply deferred to congressional protocol and "home state" privilege. Both Arizona senators, as well as Rep. Morris Udall, desperately wanted to settle the coal and water rights of the Black Mesa, because they were crucial to the Central Arizona Project (CAP). CAP was considered the key to Arizona's economic future in the Sun Belt, where energy and water are the economic lifeblood.

Fictional chairman

Propping up the fiction of the land dispute is the Hopi "tribal chairman," in whose name the original land claim was filed. Traditionalists say the "chairman" position is itself

Continued on page 10

Apartheid, American-style

While millions of Americans are appalled at South Africa's racist apartheid government, many of those same U.S. citizens are unconcerned about the mass relocation of Navajo and Hopi Indians in the Southwest.

Of course they are rightfully outraged at the government of South Africa, where racism is legalized and brutally enforced in order to keep the races "apart." With the black population under control of the white government, apartheid is rationalized as "separate development" and keyed to a mass-relocation policy under which millions of native South Africans are removed and restricted to government-established "homelands."

Despite vehement denials by officials of both U.S. and Indian governments, the U.S. reservation system shares an almost identical history, purpose and ideological underpinning as South Africa's homelands. Both are refinements of a "reserve" system left over from the 1800s, when the governments "set aside" lands for native populations. Apartheid was institutionalized in South Africa in 1948 when the National Party came to power. Indian "self-government" was institutionalized in the U.S. in 1934 under the Indian Reorganization Act (IRA), conceived, written and implemented by former social worker John Collier. The IRA liquidated indigenous forms of self-

government and installed "elected" tribal chairmen who signed away mineral and water rights.

Yet there are differences between the two systems. In South Africa the white government wants both the land and labor of the native black population, while in the U.S. the government took the native lands, but imported black slave labor from Africa. In South Africa the native population still comprises an overwhelming majority (75 percent) of the population, while in North America white colonization has advanced to a point where the surviving native population comprises less than 1 percent of the national total.

In both cases, however, population removal is resisted by native people and imposed by white governments, leaving the governments and corporations in charge of the mineral resources. Not surprisingly, several corporations that dominate the Navajo and Hopi economies are also major corporate actors in South Africa.

The population removals destroy the cultural and religious traditions of these land-based peoples and hamper their ability to pursue an ecologically sound and self-sufficient lifestyle. Their economies are destabilized and converted to "modern" industrialized and consumptive ones.

-R.L.

By Joel Bleifuss

LISBON

THE PORTUGUESE LEFT HAS FEW reasons to rejoice after the second and final round of presidential elections on February 16. They can feel thankful that right-wing Christian Democrat Diogo Freitas do Amaral will not take his flashy smile and dark past to Belem (the Portuguese White House). But there is little cheer in the fact that the new president is Mario Soares, social-democratic leader of the Socialist Party.

Soares' 51.3 to 48.7 percent victory over Freitas do Amaral proved only that the left and center command a slight majority in Portugal. It does not indicate a people united around former Prime Minister Soares, who lost control of the parliament in last October's elections. For the Portuguese left—recently stuck with the choice between the evil of two lessers—it is their lot to pick through the electoral wreckage and take whatever lessons they can from the campaigns of the four original presidential candidates whose poster images will remain as wallpaper on every village lane and city street for weeks to come.

The future of Portugal's left looked brighter 11 years ago. On April 25, 1974, the military, taking their cue from a song played on the radio, rolled the tanks into the streets and ended 48 years of dictatorship. The generals who orchestrated the coup had close ties to Africa and strongly believed that the government should take a more liberal policy to the colonies of Mozambique, Angola and Gambia.

Portugal was the first and last European colonial empire and her African territories have always been a factor in national politics. Government propaganda posters in 1971 showed the land mass of Portuguese Africa superimposed on and dwarfing Western Europe. And in this last election supporters of Freitas do Amaral accused Soares of surrendering their African legacy, a bequest lost years earlier under the Antonio Salazar dictatorship.

The nation's wealth rested on its now vanished empire. Today the Portuguese have the resources they began with—the fish in the sea and olive and cork trees—coupled with the aspirations and culture of modern Europeans, a frustrating mix that they haven't reconciled.

Poor, poor Portugal

Portugal is Western Europe's poorest country. The new glass and steel office complexes in modern Lisbon only emphasize the paint and plaster crumbling off the face of the old city. The statistics with which Freitas do Amaral challenged Soares are equally stark: a million Portuguese emigrated in the past 20 years, half a million people in a country of 13 million are unemployed, the foreign debt is 17 times that of 1973 and the inflation rate is 20 percent. The level of discontent in Portugal is underscored by a recent poll in which 40 percent of the people said the country would be better off becoming a part of Spain, their arch rival of the last 500 years.

In the last 11 years Portugal has had three presidents, six legislative elections, six ministers of defense, eight foreign ministers, eight ministers of agriculture, nine ministers of finance and 15 different governments. This political turmoil is disconcertingly reminiscent of the 23 different governments that ruled debt-ridden Portugal from 1919 until the military took power in 1926.

Into this tumultuous situation stepped Freitas do Amaral. He ran his campaign on the slogan "Portugal to the future." Freitas do Amaral's commitment to democracy was open to question and there was a fear on the left—both voiced and unspoken—that his route to the future would have taken Portugal back into the past.

It was out of this fear that the left rallied with full conviction (in the second round of elections) behind the most conservative of the European socialists, Mario Soares. But within that united front was a divided left.

Last October the Socialist government

was firmly ousted from parliament. The party lost half its seats to the Social Democratic Party (PSD) and the Reformed Democratic Party (PRD), a new party formed by the charismatic and immensely popular current president, "General" Ramalho Eanes (a veteran of the April 25 revolution who is prohibited from seeking a third term by the constitution). In November the PSD's Anibal Cavaco Silva became the new prime minister after he formed a coalition government with Freitas do Amaral's Social and

(PCP), received 20.8 percent.

The fourth candidate, and the most intriguing, Maria Lourdes Pintasilgo, ran on an anti-party platform. Described in the press as the candidate of the Catholic left and dismissed by her opponents as a utopian, she received 7.3 percent of the vote. Though Soares won the election, the campaigns of all four candidates will shape Portugal's political future.

The electoral struggle for the presidency was more than a battle for the political

PORTUGAL

Winter discontent for Europe's poor sister



Mario Soares (top) edged Diogo Freitas do Amaral in Portugal's February 16 election.

The left rallied behind the most conservative of European socialists, Mario Soares.

Democratic Center (PDS).

January came and four candidates sought the presidency in the preliminary election. Freitas do Amaral, supported by his PDC and the PSD, came in first with 46.3 percent of the vote. Soares, supported by many in the Socialist Party (PS), was second with 25.4 percent. Francisco Salgado Zenha, formerly of the PS and the candidate of the PRD and the Portuguese Communist Party

power of the office, which is limited to the duties as head of state and the not insignificant right to dissolve parliament and call new elections. Natalia Correia, an acclaimed Portuguese poet and author, explained, "This is the first presidential election after 60 years for a civilian president, so it has a special impact. The president is a projection of the personality of the nation—a symbol of the moral voice and cultural life of Portugal."

As a symbol Freitas do Amaral, 44, had little but fear to offer the left. During the campaign his opponents repeatedly asked, "Where were you before April 25, 1974?" The former professor of law at a Catholic university answered during one of the numerous TV debates that politics previously had not interested him, but that the revolution of 1974 had "opened his eyes." Amaral's former political life was later clarified by an expose in the center-right newspaper *Expresso*. It reported that in

1970 this previously apolitical candidate was on the payroll of the Center for International Documentation—an organization set up by the dictator Antonio Salazar to monitor the student movement and spread pro-government propaganda throughout the Portuguese universities. Freitas do Amaral denied this, saying he was merely involved in "educational reforms."

Right out

Most disturbing, however, was the conviction that a Freitas do Amaral victory would have opened the political sphere to those in the far right, who are presently so discredited by the 48 years of fascism that they are unable to operate openly.

Though Mario Soares, 61, fell from grace last October, that was hardly noticeable in the fervor with which the left and some in the center mobilized around him once he made it to the presidential runoff. The Portuguese Communist Party "had to swallow an elephant," as the Portuguese like to say. The secretary, Alvaro Cunhal, was forced to call an extraordinary party congress to overrule the resolution of a previous congress that pledged never to support the party's "principal enemy," Mario Soares. "Hide the face and put the cross," urged Cunhal. That support was not universal enough to ensure Soares a modest victory at the polls. Soares played the role as "the only alternative" and, as one young woman explained, "took up a Communist violin."

Soares, well liked by Washington and a friend of the multinationals, is seen by those on the left as having betrayed the ideals of April 25. Poet-politician Correia—who spent three years in prison under Salazar and once served as an independent socialist deputy in parliament—said, "Soares is living on his anti-fascist past and now he has not much to show."

Soares co-founded the Socialist Party in 1973 while in exile in France. His partner was Francisco Salgado Zenha, who came in third in January's first round of voting. Zenha, a man who has been called "the moral conscience of the Socialist Party," was the dissident Socialist who ran with the support of both the very popular President Eanes and his PRD, and the most orthodox of European Communist parties, the PCP, which can bring out between 10 and 20 percent of the electorate.

"Soares and Zenha, nothing can stop you" was the phrase used to describe their partnership in 1975 when both were Socialists and anti-Communists. But in 1980 the two split over Zenha's support for President Eanes. Zenha believed Eanes consolidated Portugal's democracy, but Soares had never forgiven the general for making his government resign in 1978.

Their split intensified in 1983 when Soares looked to the right to form a coalition government and Zenha pressed for a coalition with the Communists. Soares has charged that Zenha wants to "destroy the Socialist Party" while Zenha has called Soares a "desert of ideas."

Pintasilgo's Portuguese rainbow

Supporters of Maria Lourdes Pintasilgo, a 56-year-old engineer who was once briefly prime minister, claimed that her presidential candidacy has inaugurated a vanguard social movement. Pintasilgo was backed by most intellectuals, students, a couple of powerful labor leaders who strayed from the Communist Party's line and the "captains of April"—the junior officers in the military left.

An advocate of participatory democracy, Pintasilgo said that the end result of parliamentarianism was a dictatorship by bureaucracy and the political parties. People must therefore, she claimed, seek more representational and open organizations. Pintasilgo talked of the right to dream and look for a utopia.

Influenced by Antonio Gramsci's theories of dominant culture, she and her supporters stressed the interdependence of culture and politics and said the two should be social partners in national life. Saying Portugal was economically a member of the Third World, she put forward arguments

Continued on page 10

By Diana Johnstone

WHEN THE U.S. SIXTH FLEET isn't out defying Col. Muammar Khadafy off the shores of Tripoli, its favorite playground is the Tyrrhenian Sea, a triangle of the Mediterranean between Italy's southwestern coast and its two big islands, Sicily and Sardinia. So long as the Navy stays on ships, there is little objection. But as it moves increasingly into the skies, practicing sophisticated electronic air combat at supersonic speeds, it is a growing threat to civil aviation in that densely populated part of the world.

The Italian pilots' association ANPAC has been sounding the alarm. "Every time military maneuvers are being carried out in the triangle between the coast of south-central Italy, Sardinia and Sicily, you can count on near misses being registered," an ANPAC spokesman said in January. "They are potential attacks on flight safety. The margins of risk for passengers flying over those zones are very high."

The number of recorded near misses has grown in the '80s with the stepped-up military activity in the Mediterranean. In 1983 Italian Socialist European Parliament member Carlo Ripa Di Meana, calling for improved safety measures, presented figures showing that annual "near misses" in Italian air space rose from 39 to 52 in the year before, of which 22 were "grave"—meaning evasive maneuvers were necessary to avoid collision. This compared with 100 in the whole European community. About 40 percent of Italy's close calls were attributed to near run-ins with Sixth Fleet maneuvers. But NATO keeps its part in such close encounters wrapped in military secrecy.

Last May an Italian domestic ATI DC9 flying from Rome to Cagliari in southern Sardinia missed two fighter jets dashing toward it by about 500 yards—a distance covered in less than a second by such aircraft on collision course. The same day another ATI DC9 flying from Pisa to Palermo missed colliding with a military plane by seconds. Theoretically, military aircraft are assigned airspace outside civilian air traffic flight paths. In practice, they go astray.

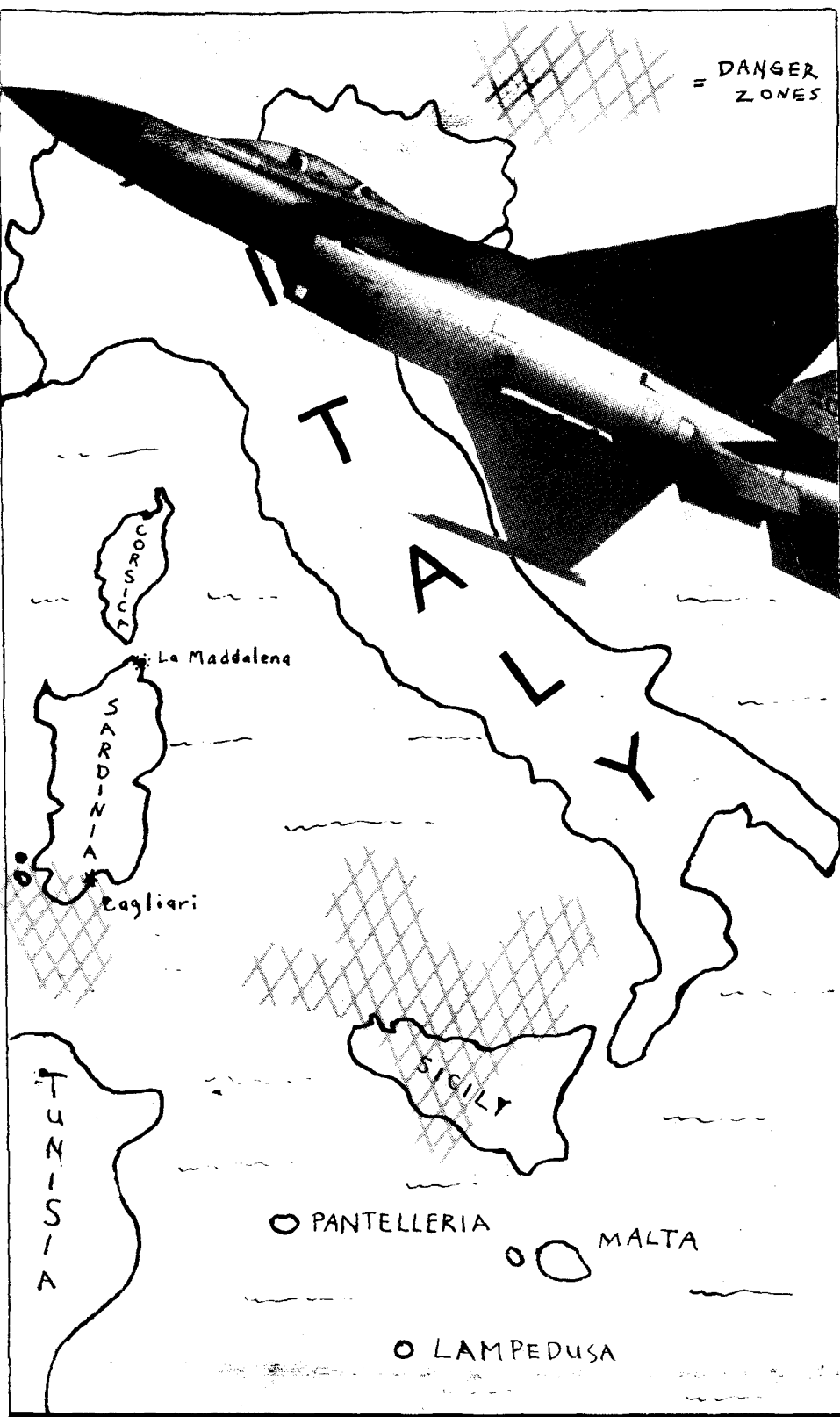
The danger threatens to increase as the U.S. expands its bases and uses them for more and more training exercises of a sort it would not carry out in U.S. airspace shared with civilian air traffic. These exercises go far beyond NATO's defense needs. Thus Italians learned last year, by way of a *Financial Times* report from Bern, that "neutral" Switzerland was sending its air force pilots for training exercises to the American NATO base at Decimomannu in Sardinia, not far from Cagliari.

Little by little, these facts have emerged: the U.S. has turned over facilities on its Decimomannu base to the CUBIC corporation, a San Diego-based consortium of American military industries, for trial runs of advanced electronic air-to-air combat systems. CUBIC makes private contracts with NATO or non-NATO governments for exercises with its sophisticated air-combat-simulation equipment.

The president of the Sardinian regional coalition government, Mario Melis, is complaining about the use of Sardinian territory as "training centers for war industries." According to some estimates, nearly 8 percent of Sardinian territory is already unusable for economic development—such as tourism—because it is directly or indirectly taken over for military exercises. At the island's north end, work is underway to extend the big U.S. base at La Maddalena with a vast underground tunnel believed to be designed to store nuclear weapons. Sardinian leaders protest the military doing this without consulting regional elected officials.

Atomic powder keg

The problem is not so much one of a particular base as "of a region transformed with high-handed contempt for democracy, into an atomic powder keg and a service area for the American army," Melis told the Italian daily *La Repubblica*. "In no case can we accept that foreigners, allies or not, display a mentality of occupation troops.... Nor that



MEDITERRANEAN

U.S. muscle-flexing sparks Italian protest

private interests, like the industries that come here to experiment war technologies to sell on the world market, hide behind imaginary national interests to make money at the expense of a land whose people have to emigrate for lack of employment.

Melis' objections do not reflect any movement to get rid of the bases—something not considered possible—but rather to limit their expansion, check their activities and, no doubt, obtain more favorable economic terms. But mounting tension in the Mediterranean is creating fear of involvement in unwanted war through the presence of the U.S. bases. Prime Minister Karmenu Mifsud Bonnici of the independent island of Malta, off the southern coast of Sicily facing Libya, warned recently after a meeting with Khadafy that if attacked by the U.S. Sixth Fleet, Libya would retaliate against its bases in Naples and the Italian islands. Bonnici has been trying to promote peace talks but has been snubbed by the Americans. "War has never seemed so near," he warned recently. Italians don't like Khadafy, yet they like war even less.

Public attention was drawn to high-handed American use of Italian bases by last year's incident of October 11, when Italian carabinieri and troops of the special U.S. "Delta Force" came close to fighting over custody of the Egyptian airliner carrying the Palestinian hijackers of the *Achille Lauro* cruise ship that U.S. Navy planes forced to land at the big Sigonella NATO base near Catania on Sicily's eastern coast.

Prime Minister Bettino Craxi informed parliament that when the Egyptian airliner transferred from Sigonella to Rome's Ciampino airport, it was closely followed by U.S. fighter planes whose pilots refused communication with Italian military air control. This is not the first incident reflecting American fighter pilots' tendency to consider Italian air space their own.

Air force in a fog

On Sept. 26, 1983, a domestic Italian "Alisarda" DC-9 carrying 100 passengers between Bologna and Catania had an extremely close encounter with a pair of U.S. F-111 fighter jets who decided to buzz Sicily when their naval exercises over the Tyrrhenian were called off for bad weather. Finding themselves in a cloud bank, the F-111 pilots contacted Sigonella. Aware of the approaching Alisarda DC-9, the Italian air controllers tried to keep them apart, but the American pilots insulted the Italians, defied their instructions and started to climb out of the cloud bank, skimming the nose of the Alisarda airliner by a distance of about three yards.

Collision with military aircraft is by no means the only or even the worst danger to civil aviation from the Sixth Fleet's Tyrrhenian exercises. As NATO and CUBIC experiment with more and more sophisticated electronic air-combat systems, the risk grows that one of the sea-to-air or air-to-air missiles fired off at drones—especially heat-seeking missiles—may zero in on a civil aircraft by mistake. Indeed, this already seems to have hap-

pened, although the case has been hushed up for nearly six years.

The long investigation

On the evening of June 27, 1980, a McDonnell-Douglas DC-9 of the Italian domestic airline Itavia was approaching Palermo on a flight from Bologna with 81 persons aboard when it suddenly disintegrated near the small Tyrrhenian island of Ustica. There were no survivors. The aircraft was in the civilian air corridor "Ambra 13 Alpha," the most dangerous one for frequency of near misses. In this zone of the Tyrrhenian NATO habitually plays out its war games. Fragments of drone fished out of nearby waters in the days preceding the disaster indicated that the exercises included practice of missiles against aircraft. American, British, German and Italian pilots take part in such NATO exercises.

The investigation of the Ustica DC-9 disaster has dragged on at a snail's pace, plagued by military secrecy, delays and repetitions. It took nearly two years officially to rule out the hypothesis of spontaneous structural yielding as the cause of disintegration. Investigators have wavered back and forth for five years over whether or not to fish out wreckage lying on the seabed with some of the victims' bodies trapped in it, as survivors' families requested immediately. Such procrastination not only dims chances of ever assigning precise responsibility for the airliner's destruction, but it also has successfully avoided the outburst of public indignation that would have been touched off by announcement at the time that the DC-9 had been shot down by mistake during military exercises.

This fact began to emerge in the summer of 1982, when radar tapes of the disaster were analyzed in Washington by the National Transportation Safety Board. It concluded that an unidentified flying object approached the DC-9 at high speed at the moment the airliner vanished abruptly from radar screens. In interviews with the BBC and several newspapers, NTSB experts John Macidull and John Transue said the unidentified flying object coming at the DC-9 had all the characteristics of a military fighter plane performing a classic attack maneuver. It was at a suitable distance to launch an air-to-air missile—about five miles west of the point where the DC-9 exploded, scattering its wreckage eastward.

These enlightening details were omitted from the official Italian report. The investigation changed horses—a new magistrate was put in charge—and limped on. In 1984 the pilots' association ANPAC deplored the fact that after four years the truth was still not known about an episode illustrating a "disturbing phase of regression" in Italian air safety. Later that year Judge Vittorio Bucarelli ordered a new expert inquiry, including the possibility of salvaging submerged parts of the DC-9 to take to Seoul for comparison with wreckage of the Korean Air Lines flight 007 shot down by a Soviet fighter over Sakhalin in September 1983. This inquiry is still pending.

On January 29, Franco Scottoni reported in *La Repubblica* that it is now "certain" that the Itavia DC-9 "was shot down by mistake by a missile." Recent evidence from autopsies of the bodies recovered immediately after the crash found fragments of glass and metal that would have been blown away from the passengers if a bomb had been placed inside the plane before take-off. Other evidence includes traces of explosive characteristic of missiles. "But the bitter truth continues to run up against a thousand obstacles to being revealed to public opinion," Scottoni wrote. New tests have been ordered. "In conclusion, at least two or three years will pass before knowing the definitive results...."

One serious problem is the "blind spot" in civilian radar coverage of the danger zone in the Tyrrhenian, which is monitored only by military radar. As sunshine returns to the Mediterranean, NATO is getting ready for its 1986 war games, "Distant Hammer" and "Display Determination." Strange flashes and explosions will dot the sky. And if anything goes wrong, it can always be blamed on the Libyans.

Indians

Continued from page 7

illegal and that the chairman is nothing more than an Interior Department employee.

The Interior Department and Congress like to point out that the chairman is "elected." But this ignores the fact that all of the elections have been boycotted by 80-90 percent of the Hopi people, who prefer their millennia-old custom of consensual decision-making. The Relocation Act recognizes only the Hopi chairman and does not allow the traditionals any access to the courts. Ironically, the Navajo chairman, although he registers *pro forma* objections to the relocation, runs the largest tribal bureaucracy in the U.S., primarily on royalties from coal and minerals resources.

The administration and many congressional Democrats are increasingly uneasy as they face the prospect of carrying out the removal this summer. The political reality, however, is that Goldwater wants the situation resolved this year. "I have the power to make this thing happen," he said in a recent interview.

To accommodate Goldwater, the Relocation Commission has developed a target list of 399 "high priority" families that, under a recently exposed "contingency" plan, would be quickly removed to temporary or mass housing projects. These families represent

the heart of the resistance movement.

Attorneys for the Defense Committee and the Navajo Tribe point out that such an action would violate the Relocation Act itself, but the Commission points to language in its 1986 appropriation that delegates authority directly to the secretary of the interior to "expedite" relocation "without regard to...any law or regulation."

Besides Goldwater, another key actor in the relocation program has been Morris Udall, head of the House Interior Committee and a respected House liberal. His powerful committee oversees not only Indian affairs but also mining, energy and water development.

For years Udall has claimed that a promise to his mother on her deathbed to support the land claim of their friend and fellow Mormon Church member—the Hopi tribal chairman—has restricted his options. This factor alone apparently stymies dozens of Democrats who are otherwise sympathetic to Indian issues. In February Udall unveiled a draft bill that would "minimize relocation." To the traditionals, for whom "relocation is genocide," compromise is no solution. They say they will not allow any of their fellow Navajo to be removed.

Since the 1979 Declaration of Independence was issued at Big Mountain, an international network of half a dozen support groups has grown to almost 100, and the Big Mountain Legal Defense/Offense Committee (BMLD/OC) has established an

office in Flagstaff, operating on a shoestring. BMLD/OC is campaigning for congressional repeal of the Relocation Act and for repatriation of the several thousand Navajo Indians who have already been turned into refugees by the relocation program. Along with the repeal campaign the BMLD/OC hopes to place several hundred nonviolent "observers" between the traditionals and police or soldiers attempting to relocate Navajos. Training for these observers began last fall under direction of the Big Mountain Support network, working closely with the International Indian Treaty Council and Clergy and Laity Concerned.

Appropriations subcommittee Chairman Rep. Sidney Yates (D-IL) opened an oversight hearing on February 4 by informing the chairman of the Relocation Commission that "there is a groundswell across this country opposing the relocation program."

Investigations by one congressional committee, the FBI and former Interior Secretary William Clark have left the Relocation Commission rocking and reeling from housing fraud scandals, allegations of widespread malfeasance and charges that the Commission is itself violating the Relocation Act.

BMLD/OC's work has forced the Commission to admit that between 30-80 percent of the thousands who initially complied with the relocation have been unable to survive at their relocation homes; many returned to the reservation as people who have

"disappeared" from the official records.

Much of the support network consists of organizers also working in opposition to Central American intervention, apartheid, militarism and related causes. Overlap of the many issues is shown in two recent incidents:

• During the Tucson Sanctuary trials, blood was poured in the courtroom in protest of federal Judge Earl Carroll's rulings against Central Americans seeking political refugee status. The blood-pouring protester was also active in the Big Mountain protests. Federal Judge Carroll is overseeing implementation of the Relocation Act and has issued several orders hastening Indian removal. While he defends the sanctity of the border against "illegal aliens," Navajo and Hopi traditionals cite the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, which established that border, as the international law barring their removal. Claimed one Big Mountain traditionalist: "The judge is the illegal alien."

• Rock artist Steven Van Zandt—who conceived, organized and produced the Artists United Against Apartheid album "Sun City"—recently issued a statement to the public and the anti-apartheid movement. Citing "the forced relocation of Native Americans" as "one of the most urgent and serious issues of our time," he urged those "working against the apartheid system" to "come to the defense of the Diné and Hopi people of Big Mountain."

Observers agree that Big Mountain is a test. For the Indians their traditionalist culture is at stake. But in the long run the culture most at risk may be America's industrial culture, which may need the knowledge of the Hopi and Navajo more than it now realizes.

Richard Lawrence writes frequently about Indian affairs.

"I need my money to work for me, but I want it to speak for me, too.

That's why I use WORKING ASSETS."

WORKING ASSETS is America's largest socially responsible money fund. And the second fastest-growing of all money funds.¹

WORKING ASSETS pays you high current interest—higher than most banks²—but there are no fees, service charges or withdrawal penalties. It provides the safety and liquidity you expect. And you can write all the free personalized checks you want (\$250 or more).

But WORKING ASSETS is much more.

Our money managers work hard to make sure your savings *won't* support apartheid, weapons, nuclear power, pollution or job discrimination.

They put your dollars to work for things you believe in—like affordable housing, higher education, equal opportunity and renewable energy.

At WORKING ASSETS, you get personal financial benefits while your money works *for*, not *against*, your principles.

Put this uncommon combination to work for you today. Call our toll-free 24-hour number or return the coupon for free information.



WORKING ASSETS

Assets now over \$75 million

230 California Street
San Francisco, CA 94111

*Earning Interest
On Your Principles*

Call 800-543-8800 toll free now.

WORKING ASSETS MONEY FUND 230 California Street, San Francisco CA 94111

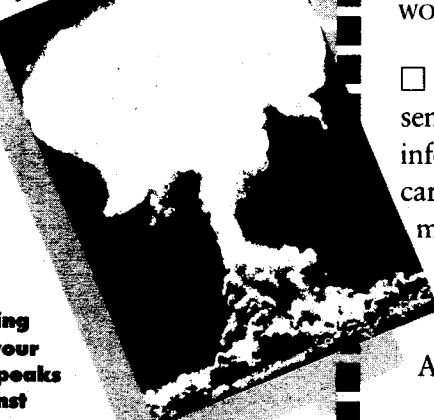
☐ **YES!** I want my money to work and *speak* for me. Please send me your FREE prospectus including more complete information about management fees and expenses. I'll read it carefully before investing. I understand there is no obligation on my part.

Name _____

Address _____

City/State/Zip _____

NO \$\$ FOR BOMBS!



At Working Assets, your money speaks out against the arms race, apartheid, pollution and job discrimination.

¹Forbes, September 16, 1985. (General category.)
²Based on 1985 yields of money market checking accounts of 50 largest banks and thrifts, as reported in Bank Rate Monitor.

Portugal

Continued from page 8

for nonalignment. Natalia Correia, who spent the weeks before the January elections campaigning for Pintasilgo, spoke of her hopes for this new brand of politics. "This movement will offer modern ideas that parties cannot offer. Political parties eventually enter the establishment because of their nature as a party. To keep your creativity and new ideas fresh, you cannot be part of the system."

The significance of Pintasilgo's candidacy transcends her modest 7 percent of the vote. She was leading Soares in the public opinion polls until Zenha entered the race. (Amaral's victory in the first round was a foregone conclusion.) Then, President Eanes, who had once backed Pintasilgo, switched his endorsement to Zenha—it is speculated that Eanes had ideas of succession in mind and did not believe this unorthodox woman was presidential material. Following Eanes' lead, the PCP also went with Zenha. The party told their members that a vote for Pintasilgo was a "betrayal of democracy." With this support, Zenha became the only candidate who could out-poll Soares, and consequently Pintasilgo lost votes to the "anyone but Soares" attitude of the left. At the same time Zenha's Communist endorsement cost him votes to Soares.

Yet despite her loss at the polls, Pintasilgo's candidacy brought new ideas into Portugal's political discourse. In the campaign against Amaral, Soares—who had once spoofed Pintasilgo's rhetoric—spoke of "the cultural partnership," "utopia" and the "right to dream." The architects of her campaign are now caucusing to create a structure for the movement that they hope will continue the spirit of the bloodless revolution and provide a political culture for a left that feels accommodated, not represented, by the established parties. "Pragmatism," Correia says, "is the poison of socialism." As an antidote, Pintasilgo's supporters are staking their future on an ethereal politics whose power has yet to be tested in the tumult of what remains a democratic Portugal.

Joel Bleifuss is a Madrid-based journalist.

By Paul Joseph

THE CAMBODIANS WERE WATCHING a film of the famine in Ethiopia. Scenes of the swollen bellies of children and adults too weak to move rolled before their eyes. They realized that they were no longer the most suffering people on the planet. It seemed to take them by surprise.

Visitors to Phnom Penh, the capital of Cambodia, are struck by how normal life appears. Only six years after the Vietnamese invaded Cambodia and ended a holocaust carried out by Pol Pot and the Khmer Rouge, the population busily goes about its business. The mood is calm. The markets carry a variety of goods, and individuals returning to the city after an absence of two years comment on the number of new shops and products now available.

This relatively rosy picture of life in Phnom Penh stands alongside a much more difficult situation in the rural areas where the threat from the Khmer Rouge still exists. The Khmer Rouge, together with the Sihanoukists and the Kampuchea People's National Liberation Front (KPNLF), comprise the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea (CGDK), which is the legal entity recognized by the United Nations as the legitimate government of Cambodia.

Why does the UN recognize the CGDK when it includes a group responsible for a holocaust? The official answer is that the Heng Samrin government of Phnom Penh was installed by the Vietnamese by military invasion and is kept in power only by the continued occupation of Vietnamese troops. China, Thailand and now the U.S. go beyond the United Nations and give military aid to the three groups, but especially to the Khmer Rouge, in an effort to pressure Phnom Penh. This situation threatens Cambodia's efforts to regain normalcy.

Western sources now claim there are 170,000 Vietnamese troops in the country. Indonesia cites the far lower figure of 105,000. For their part, the Vietnamese have announced four withdrawals but offer no numbers.

Sources in Bangkok place the number of Khmer Rouge troops at 35,000. The Sihanoukists are said to field 6-7,000 and the KPNLF approximately 13-14,000. In fact, the CGDK forces field far fewer troops than indicated by the Bangkok estimates. The KPNLF, for example, has fewer than 1,000 men inside Cambodia. These are organized in three groups and two are looking for the remaining one, which seems to have lost contact. The only effective fighting force is the Khmer Rouge.

The 1984-85 dry-season Vietnamese offensive successfully destroyed the staging camps of the Khmer Rouge in Phnom Malai, the Sihanoukist headquarters at Tatum, and the KPNLF base at Ampil. These operations, which occasionally spilled across the Thai-Cambodian border, transformed the prevailing cycle in which the Vietnamese controlled the initiative during the dry-season and the Khmer Rouge the initiative during the wet-season. Vietnamese and Phnom Penh troops are now able to conduct operations throughout the year.

The Khmer Rouge do not even pose a remote threat to overthrow the Heng Samrin government. Nor are they capable of seriously disrupting the economy. Battambang, the second-largest city located close to the Khmer Rouge strongholds near the Thai border, has nonetheless regained its traditional leading economic role.

But success along the border has created a new set of problems in Kampuchea's interior. The Khmer Rouge have infiltrated guerrilla teams that conduct terrorist operations against the civilian population and occasionally against Soviet and East European advisers. The Pol Pot forces have attacked buses, trucks and, at least on one occasion, a ferry close to Phnom Penh itself. Small land mines placed on roads and agricultural fields kill or, more frequently, maim civilians. Soviet advisers have been killed in the rural areas and have been the targets of grenades thrown in marketplaces.



The killing fields aren't nearly as lethal as they once were, but the picture remains far from rosy in the Cambodian countryside.

CAMBODIA

Vietnamese trying to find a way out

Thus the Khmer Rouge has forced Phnom Penh to divert resources that could better be spent in rebuilding the country. Civilians are required to spend a three-month tour along the border clearing forests and constructing outposts to be used in operations against the resistance groups. This is dangerous work because of land mines and possible exposure to malaria-carrying mosquitos. In the interior, every bridge—including those spanning culverts or ditches a few yards across—has a guard shed next to it. Young boys take turns standing guard duty. Phnom Penh itself has a 9:00 p.m. curfew, and major buildings are guarded at night by rotating teams of workers, including higher officials.

A political solution?

To illustrate their approach to determining the future of Cambodia, the Vietnamese and Phnom Penh governments are fond of using an allegory: "A pot of rice is now cooking," high foreign ministry officials say in both Hanoi and Phnom Penh. "Anyone who helps cook the rice can expect to eat when it is finished. Those who wait around and refuse to help can't expect to share the meal."

While they say that they are not sure when the rice will be done, it appears that Hanoi expects the meal to be ready by 1990. They have pledged to withdraw their troops from Cambodia by that time. They appear confident that a combination of dissension among and within the opposition groups and increasing military capacity of the Heng Samrin government will reduce the remaining threat to tolerable proportions. If no political solution is reached, the current government will determine the future.

That's the stick. On the carrot side, Hanoi says it will remove its troops sooner—perhaps as early as 1987 or 1988—if a political solution is reached.

In a recent interview, Kong Korm, the first deputy foreign minister, confirmed the Phnom Penh government's desire to have Sihanouk and the KPNLF participate in a compromise process. This fall the Vietnamese indicated their willingness to have even the Khmer Rouge participate in preliminary talks as well, although Pol Pot and Ieng Sary would have to be excluded, and in any future settlement the Khmer Rouge would have to be disbanded as a political and military force. There are also indications that Hanoi would accept the return of Prince Norodom Sihanouk as head of state. How much power he would be able to wield is yet to be determined.

Alongside these optimistic signs come more hardline statements. Kong Korm stated that all compromises reached in preliminary talks would "have to respect the existing constitution." This does not signal extensive room for maneuver. In addition, it is not yet clear whether the KPNLF and the Sihanoukists would be permitted to participate in future elections as separate political parties. The alternative would be for the current leaders to run for office as individuals or be absorbed within the current governing structure in some other manner.

Roadblocks to peace

The main obstacles to a political settlement are China, Thailand and the U.S. For the Chinese, the current situation binds the Vietnamese and the Soviets, and improves ties with the West. For the Thai military, the threat of Vietnamese "expansionism" serves their budgetary needs and improves their political position. For the U.S., the Vietnamese occupation of Kampuchea has consolidated the pro-West ASEAN alliance and makes it easier for Washington to continue its policy of punishing Vietnam.

Nonetheless, Hanoi and Phnom Penh are confident because time seems to be working

IN THESE TIMES FEB. 26-MAR. 11, 1986 11 on their behalf. The "Khmerization" of the anti-Pol Pot conflict may not conform completely to the stated timetable, but it does seem to be happening. Phnom Penh is bearing a greater weight of the fighting, and military hospitals are now treating more Khmer soldiers than Vietnamese. The Phnom Penh government claims that 1985 Khmer Rouge activity declined 60 percent from the previous year. In the second half of 1985 there were 209 separate defection incidents, the largest totaling 237 soldiers. Fourteen Khmer Rouge field commanders also defected.

Politically, the Khmer Rouge are despised by everyone except China, and the KPNLF leaders are currently in the throes of an internal conflict that has absorbed all of their attention. The more realistic Western nations—including Australia, Sweden and Japan, along with some of the ASEAN countries—recognize that unless some form of compromise is made relatively quickly the Soviet Union will continue as the predominant influence in Indochina.

Vietnamese colonialism?

The most likely outcome is the absence of a political settlement and continued occupation by the Vietnamese military until the threat posed by the Khmer Rouge is reduced to an acceptable level—unless there is significant change in Washington or Beijing. This raises the question of how the Khmer population feels about the Vietnamese presence.

Until recently, the most important aspect of this issue has been Vietnam's role in freeing the Khmer from the tyranny of Pol Pot. The Vietnamese finally ended the holocaust and for this they were appreciated. But as daily life gradually improves, Vietnamese-Khmer relations may become more complicated. The paradox is that an improved situation may free the Khmer to gripe more. As the military threat is reduced, determining the necessary Vietnamese role will be difficult. The current high Vietnamese profile in administrative functions of Cambodia will be reduced. But by how much, and at what pace?

In the meantime, claims have been made in the West that the Vietnamese are exploiting Cambodia. Some aid officials believe that the valuable fishing industry is now working for Vietnam's benefit. On the other hand, the continued stationing of military forces is costing the Vietnamese dearly—not directly, since the troops are more self-sufficient in food than most armies, but indirectly, because of lost productive labor and the fact that Vietnam is now cut off from Western and United Nations aid projects. From Hanoi's standpoint, any benefits from unequal trade arrangements are overwhelmed by other losses. Strict economic calculations would dictate Vietnamese withdrawal.

Some claim that the Vietnamese are dominating the Khmer culturally, yet this is clearly untrue. First and second-level education is carried out by Khmer teachers, and education officials seem genuinely angered by suggestions that the Vietnamese are responsible for any basic tasks.

A well-attended performance of music and dancing in a modern Phnom Penh theater also testified to the cultural independence of the Khmer. The Ministry of Culture is training many artists, musicians and dancers, and employs a sort of "affirmative action" policy favoring orphans. In one particularly dynamic group, 80 percent had lost both parents.

Life is slowly improving in Cambodia and a more moderate U.S. policy would accelerate the rate of progress. Jettisoning Pol Pot and seeking a political solution would improve the economic situation of the long-suffering population. Such a policy would reverse some of the damage that Washington has already inflicted and halt the pain that it continues to inflict through its support of the Khmer Rouge. A new stance would also create more opportunities for the Khmer people to determine their own destiny.

Paul Joseph teaches sociology at Tufts University. He recently visited Laos, Vietnam and Cambodia.

BIG BUSINESS IS WATCHING YOU

By Tim Healy and Peter Marshall

■ Alaska Airlines workers report that bosses use a sophisticated telephone system to eavesdrop routinely on calls. Not only that, but the company has placed microphones in the bases of phones and sent supervisors roaming the workplace with microcassette recorders to pick up random employee conversations.

■ AT&T long-distance operators have complained for years that their every move is watched. Now the tools have become less obtrusive—and more abusive. Today computers help supervisors listen in on calls, keep track of how many are answered, monitor how long operators spend on each one and even record how long operators stay in the bathroom. All of this can be directed from the privacy of a supervisor's office.

■ An employee of Allnet, one of the new long-distance companies, says he must choose between losing his job and signing a consent form that would allow the company to listen to and record his phone conversations at work. He went to the American Civil Liberties Union to complain, but was told there was nothing he could do.

If you're looking for Big Brother these days, don't limit your search to the municipal building, police department or courthouse. He's come to work now, too. Big Business has become Big Brother. With technological advances originally designed to lessen workers' loads, business has begun spying on its employees.

Workers have only recently begun to realize this. In its November 1985 report on the dangers of technological advances to workers, the International Labor Office in Geneva states: "The tremendous advance in computer technology has substantially contributed to developing [worker] control techniques. Personnel control...has become far more efficient."

Particularly useful is the marriage of phones and computers. New technology helps promote an old management objective: dominating workers in order to control them.

It's an objective first popularized in the '20s by Frederick Winslow Taylor. In his philosophy of "scientific management," Taylor advocated control of workers by treating them as children: giving them simple, repetitive tasks that require minimal thought and maximal speed. Taylor's scientific management says Elaine Bernard, a Canadian expert on the effects on workers of advancing technology, had "not so much to do with science but everything to do with management."

Taylorism resurfaces now as old wine in a new bottle. Originally used on the factory floors of smokestack America, the philosophy has kept pace with our changing economy. Our brightest service and information industries now practice it, using our most sophisticated technology.

Listening in

All surveillance methods—as yet fairly limited—collect information about the employee. Some of the information relates directly to work performance. Some does not. Only the imagination of management can constrain the eventual scope of workplace surveillance.

Modern surveillance methods generally are technically advanced, computer-enhanced and often software-based. In one of the oldest surveillance methods, now enhanced by computer technology, managers bug employee-customer conversations. Companies euphemistically call the practice "service observation." Others call it phone monitoring.

Supervisors can monitor workers simply by sitting next to a telephone rep, but more commonly they link employee lines to a listening device in their office. Several popular telecommunications products such as PBX systems and automatic-call distributors, both of which help an office receive and route incoming calls, have as side benefits this monitoring capability.

Some products allow supervisors to listen in on employees from remote locations—even different cities and states. Jack Maloney, one union representative for a Seattle local of the Communications Workers of America, says he knows of a case in which 11 people in disparate West Coast locations simultaneously monitored a Seattle operator. Mahoney says, "You get a little paranoid after a while."

But phone monitoring is just one brand of workplace surveillance. Other kinds include the following:

■ Pen registers track the time, destination and length of outgoing employee calls. They've been used, for example, to build records of calls made by employees.

■ Software packages can produce detailed reports on the quantity and quality of an employee's performance—the number of keystrokes per hour in the case of a typist or the accuracy of a spot welder in an auto assembly plant.

■ A small computer module keeps track of a trucker's speed during a cross-country trip. At trip's end, if the computer tape shows that the driver exceeded the speed limit, he can be reprimanded, suspended and finally fired.

Growing consensus among privacy experts, labor leaders and industry analysts suggests a nearly ubiquitous pattern of worker watching. There seems to be more surveillance of more employees in more forms by more employers than ever before. Several factors converge to fuel the trend toward more worker observation. For one, the technological means to spy on employees is not new—but, in many cases, has now become more affordable.

A remote phone-monitoring system, for example, can cost less than \$7,000. And a company could install and monitor a pen register for as little as \$4,000, according to a congressional report. Also, widely available and inexpensive devices such as PBX systems have promoted alternative applications. Many managers seem to believe that if they have the technical means to spy they should take advantage of it.

Government deregulation of telecommunications equipment opens the market to more manufacturers—who in turn charge less for more equipment. These influences contribute to surging workplace surveillance. Empirical evidence for an increase is hard to find. But bits and pieces add up to an interesting picture.

The big picture

During last year's session of Washington state's legislature, proponents of a bill to restrict workplace telephone monitoring were amazed at the extent of the lobbying

against the bill. More than 20 lobbyists—from Allied Daily Newspapers to the Association of Washington Business (an umbrella lobbying group)—fought the bill. Market research and telemarketing companies, phone companies, bill collectors, health insurers, airlines, tour companies, catalog-order firms and banks all testified.

An advertisement by Rockwell International claims that automatic call distributors are in use throughout "almost the entire airline industry, offices, hotels, credit card companies, car rental agencies, newspapers, banks, insurance companies and public utilities."

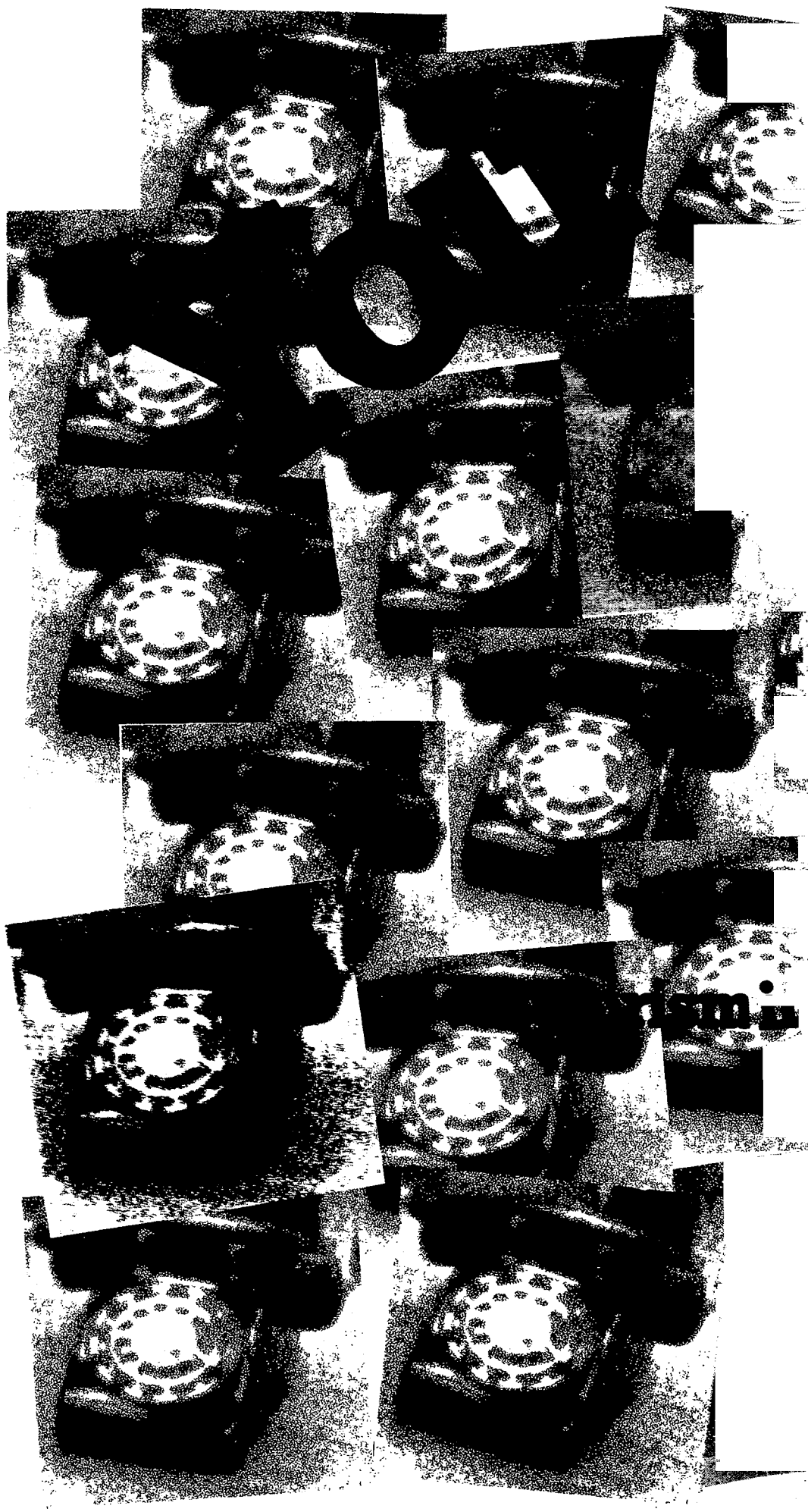
AT&T actually has an autonomous facil-

ity in Denver dedicated to remote telephone monitoring of employees. From this central station, AT&T tentacles reach out and touch operators throughout the West. And AT&T isn't the only phone company with that capability. Teltone Corp. marketed their REMOBS system (remote service observing) for years, and industry representatives confirm that most phone companies of any size have such equipment available.

Reports from Congress' Office of Technology Assessment (OTA) and an American Bar Association conference on privacy and technology further illuminate the rise in workplace monitoring.

Released last fall, OTA's report on "Electronic Surveillance and Civil Liberties" observes: "The capabilities for surveillance—the observation and monitoring of individual or group behavior, including communication—are greatly expanded or enhanced with the use of technological devices."

The report says these devices are not only widespread but also "more difficult to detect, of higher reliability and sensitivity, speedier, less costly, more flexible and adaptable and easier to conceal" than ever before. Speakers at the ABA conference warned that integrating computers and communications would multiply workplace monitoring. "Many privacy problems will grow more severe, depending upon the growth of a market for personal data," said Fred Weingarten, OTA's program manager



for communication and information technology at conference time.

The workplace-privacy problem now primarily occurs among white-collar workers in services and information industries. But it could become an important blue-collar issue as well, Weingarten said.

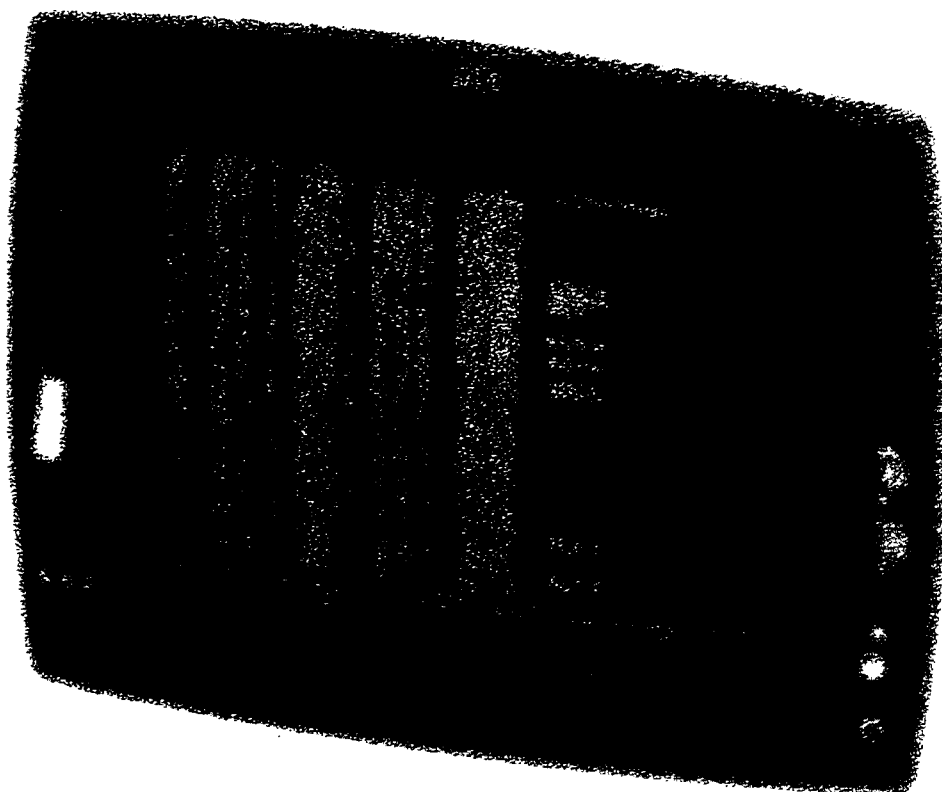
Automated devices affect blue-collar privacy because of their capacity to collect and store information about machine operator performance. A company intent on controlling workers undoubtedly will take advantage of that capacity.

Last fall's International Labor Office report came to three key conclusions on workplace monitoring: Information is being gathered "that is wholly irrelevant to employer-employee relations"; new computer technology has made possible new surveillance techniques; and these techniques "are found everywhere."

Side effects

The adverse effects of workplace surveillance—both physical and psychological—are well-documented. Researchers at the University of Toronto have uncovered a wide range of problems. On the physical side, says Toronto researcher and computer science professor Andrew Clement, monitoring can produce the usual panoply of stress-related illnesses, including ulcers, heart disease and high blood pressure.

"Automated surveillance systems...are used by management to remove effective



control from employees and in this way contribute to the stress of the job," says Clement.

He cites studies that show that clerical office workers have the highest stress levels of any employee group. "Part of the explanation

may be under more pressure given serious consequences of mistakes, clerical workers are under more stress since they have very little autonomy or control over their work."

Clement says his research has uncovered other, more insidious ill effects as well: monitoring can create a climate of distrust, a breakdown in employee relationships, degradation of employee self-worth and loss of dignity and confidence.

He quotes an airline reservation agent as saying, "I feel that the company doesn't trust me, that's why they have this machine that watches me. It sure doesn't do much for my self-esteem."

The National Institute for Occupational Safety and Health also criticizes worker-watching. In a recent study, the institute found that computer monitoring is a possible cause for above-average stress and health problems among VDT-using office workers. Also, chest pain, digestive problems and headaches are reported more often by employees who are monitored, according to a survey of 2,000 office workers by 9to5, a working women's organization.

The real damage of workplace surveillance, however, is best illustrated with anecdotes like that of Duane Salsberry, who worked at Bell of Pennsylvania until the breakup of AT&T. Robert Howard related Salsberry's story in *Mother Jones* (August 1981). The article chronicled the personal problems of several AT&T employees—problems related directly to that company's Tayloristic management style.

Howard wrote that Salsberry broke down one day at a repair switchboard with the rings, blinks and buzzers of five simultaneous repair calls clamoring at him. He was just one of five employees in the same 20-person office forced off by job by work-related psychological problems in a nine-month period. Salsberry believes job pressure and management practices led to his breakdown. Those practices include "incessant oversupervision, automatic computer monitoring, elaborate productivity indexes and petty management rules." He concluded: "[AT&T] is pioneering sophisticated strategies to ensure the corporate control of work."

But it's more than mere stress harming electronically monitored workers. It's a feeling of powerlessness. "After a while, you think they are your mother and father and you have to do what they say," says one New Jersey Bell worker. "It's like you're not on a job at all; it's like you're in kindergarten."

Another New Jersey Bell worker puts it more succinctly: "They manipulate people's lives. I'm not my own person when I work for them."

Everything's under control

Comments like these suggest Taylor's scientific management has returned. "Once banished from the factory," concludes the International Labor Office report, "Taylorism has reached the office."

Ma Bell has led a trend to reinstitute Taylorism. Rather than "scientific manage-

ment," AT&T called its version "functional organization."

One conclusion Robert Howard came to in his AT&T article was that Taylor's basic premise—workers won't cooperate with the company unless forced—became a self-fulfilling prophecy at AT&T. "At the Bell System they can tell you that they were right all along," Howard wrote. "Everything is under control."

By whatever name, in whatever company, the goal of such management practices remains the same: achieving a high level of control over employees through an authoritarian management style that emphasizes maximizing worker production and minimizing worker paychecks. In the context of workplace surveillance, this means intimidating the employee into toeing the company line and working harder.

The approach has been partly successful. Employees are intimidated.

Virginia Bitseff, an operator for GTE in Washington state, says, "I think it's just a tool for [companies] to use against you if they don't like you. Operators don't complain too much. When you have to have a job, you agree to it."

Says Sandy Nichols, an official for the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, which represents some monitored telephone employees: "At first, monitoring was a training tool—it was better than having a supervisor stand over your shoulder and make you nervous. Now it's used as a hammer to make people work harder."

Control is the name of the game. And in the eyes of Stanley Aronowitz, a University of California professor of social sciences, such management is actually more ideological than practical. He points to one of the great ironies of workplace surveillance: it may provide management with greater control, but it isn't good business.

In a recent *Wall Street Journal* story, Harley Shaiken, a labor and technology expert at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, said workplace spying is not a cure for productivity problems. "In the overwhelming majority of cases, monitoring degrades the quality of the job and, ironically, can actually impair productivity."

Clement came to a similar conclusion at the University of Toronto about how worker-watching affects customer service: "As work is speeded up and employees are made more conscious of the imperative to produce quantifiable results, telephone operators and reservation agents report that they are less able to devote their attention to providing good quality service." British Columbia Telephone operator Linda Rolufs supported that position in testimony before a Canadian regulatory commission: "When you are monitored or evaluated you are admonished to keep customer contact to a minimum. We actually had one operator called down for being too nice to customers."

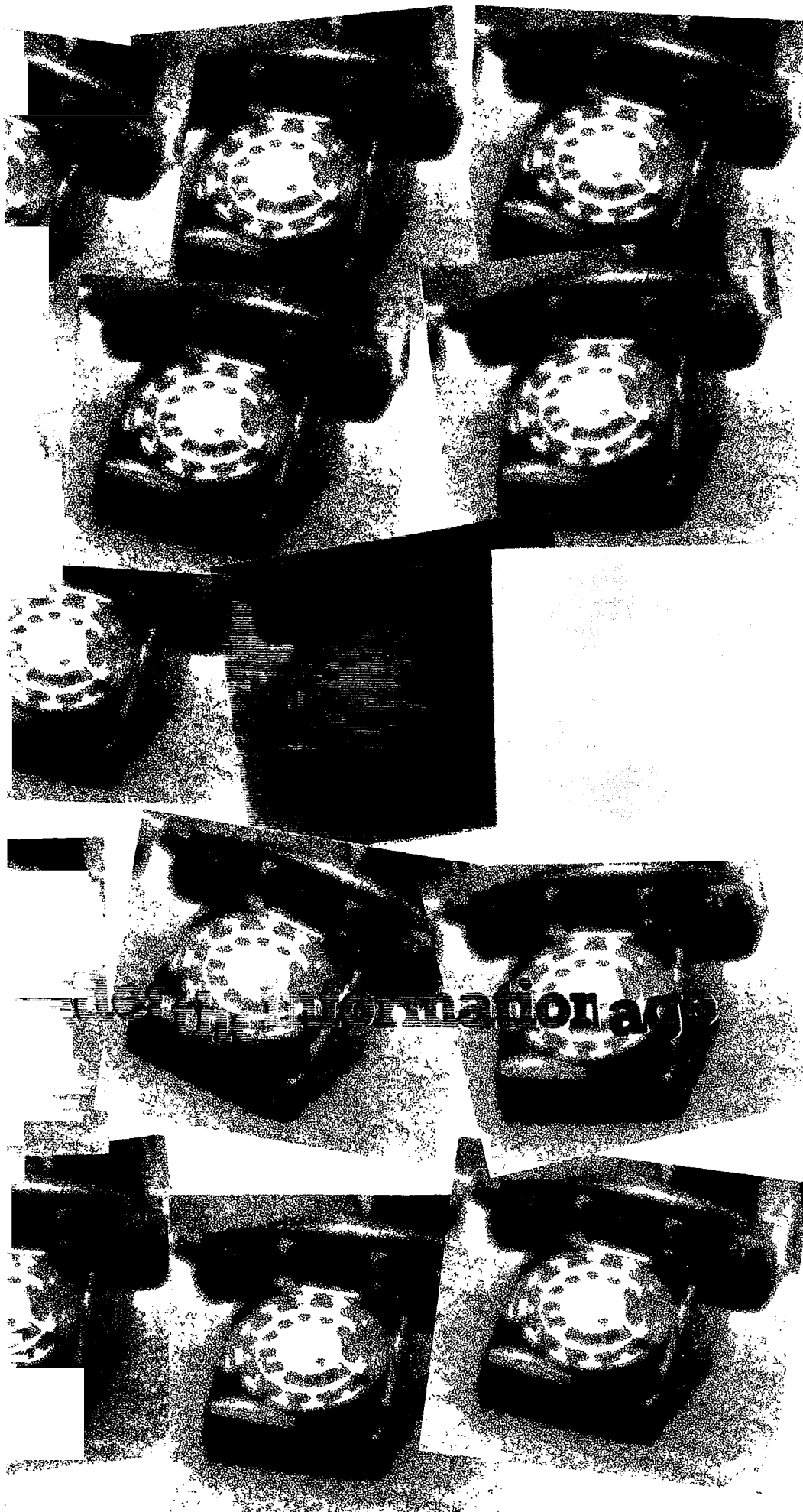
The evidence clearly incriminates workplace surveillance: it doesn't boost productivity or improve customer service, it costs thousands of dollars and it harms workers physically, mentally and emotionally.

Yet managers like the control it gives them. In Taylor's day, they liked what control could do for them: boost productivity, reduce employee costs, increase profits. Control was then the means to an end. But today control increasingly seems to be the end, and technology the means.

In this case, control means first defining the proper place of employees—subservient—and then putting them there. It also is the means by which management gets a grip on that most capricious cog in production—the human worker.

The use of technology to achieve greater control in the workplace threatens to change fundamental relationships between employers and employees, making employees more dominated and powerless than ever before. The irony is that the working public tacitly approves of this shift by not demanding a halt to workplace surveillance. And the more an activity like workplace surveillance continues, the more it becomes, over time, "normal."

Tim Healy is a freelance writer in Seattle, Wash., who has written about worker surveillance in the past. **Peter Marshall** is a telecommunications consultant in Seattle.



EDITORIAL



© Universal Press Syndicate

Let's face reality, the contras have lost

The truth is the *contras* have lost the war. They have not lost it for lack of modern weapons or supplies, but for lack of popular support inside Nicaragua. Rearming them now will not result in a *contra* victory, and it certainly won't make the Sandinista regime more amenable to political pluralism. It will only cause incalculable pain and suffering by the Nicaraguan people at the hands of the vicious criminals and mercenary killers that our president calls "freedom fighters."

In tacit recognition that the *contras* are not a popular indigenous force capable of surviving, let alone winning, without massive aid—they are fish without a sea in which to swim—the conservative weekly *Human Events* writes that "It's now or never for *contra* aid." If Reagan "flinches now," they insist, "the president might as well pronounce the Reagan Doctrine of helping anti-Communist insurgencies as a very dead letter."

But this president doesn't flinch. He has no doubts, or even the knowledge that could breed doubt. He is still blathering on about achieving "a democratic outcome" in Nicaragua by the "success of ground resistance." As if the war were the result of spontaneous resistance within Nicaragua, an uprising of the oppressed.

By a significant majority, Americans are opposed to military aid to the *contras*. The majority is large and stable enough to allow the House of Representatives to reject Reagan's request for \$100 million in military aid to the CIA-created army sitting in Honduras. But even that wouldn't stop the president. He's pushing to save his doctrine. And his face.

Reagan is expected to ask Congress to lift its ban on military aid and CIA involvement in directing the *contras*. He wants \$70 million in military aid and \$30 million in nonlethal aid. *Human Events* reports that Reagan is about to commit himself to "an all-out effort" to win this fight, and that "virtually every key player in the administration is behind the program" to sup-

port "the democratic resistance."

But what is this "democratic resistance"? If any honest person could still have doubts, a reading of Christopher Dickey's fascinating new book *With the Contras* will dispel them. "The army that had been created by the United States as an apolitical peacekeeping force in the '20s," Dickey writes, "and had been subverted almost instantly by the Somozas to become the rock on which they built their dynasty," is now, "once again, nothing but an extension of the United States." That army was made up of men who had learned to kill and loved it, men who proudly named themselves Suicida, Cancer, El Muerte, Coyote, and who routinely tortured, raped and killed farmers, townspeople, Sandinistas and even fellow *contras* who irritated them.

Dickey spent time with the *contras* in the mountains and on their raids. At one point he asked a farmer who had just slaughtered a steer for them and was apparently on the *contra* side, what Sandinista rule was like. "A year and a half and everything was all right," he answered. "It was when the *contras* began that things started to go bad with us. It was about a year and a half ago that we started to get massacred." As Gen. Gustavo Alvarez, the former head of the Honduran armed forces, once said, "Everything you do to destroy a Marxist regime is moral." Peasants were expendable. They were being massacred to save them from a fate worse than death—life under the Sandinistas.

Like the *contras*, the Reagan administration operates on the principle of ABC—Anything But Communism. That policy is clearly operative in Central America, even though the "anything" is a horde of cutthroats who would end up slaughtering half the country if they succeeded in taking power. But as the Reagan administration sees it, that would be a small price to pay for the defense of the American empire and the free world.

It's as simple as ABC to the Cold Warriors

The situation in the Philippines is not quite as bad. There the bloody dictator is still in power, but there is an alternative in the wings in the form of Corazon Aquino. Even so, Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger thinks it's as simple as ABC. He says, sure Marcos stole the election, sure he's a bloody little tyrant, but the alternative is a victory of the Communist guerrillas. President Reagan, unguardedly at a press conference, also expressed his true feelings and defended Marcos by saying there had been cheating on both sides in the recent election. But he was quickly handed a new script. This, after all, was too much in the light of day. So even though Marcos is no worse than other defenders of Reagan-style Third World democracy, he will be pressured to quit.

The more responsible State Department, and most members of Congress—susceptible as they are to popular opinion—oppose Weinberger's position and Reagan's true sentiments, not necessarily because Marcos is so bad—they have no trouble endorsing other dictators equally as corrupt and brutal—but because they believe that supporting Marcos will strengthen the revolutionary forces in the Philippines. They, too, operate on the principle of ABC.

It is, of course, perfectly proper that there should be public debate about Amer-

In the debate over the Philippines, the desires of the Philippine people appear not to be a consideration.

ican policy toward the Philippines. Every country has a right to decide whether or not to aid another country and its government. But this debate, like all the recent debates in Washington over Central America, is framed simply in terms of how we should arrange for *their* future. In such a debate, of course, the Philippine people and their possible role in determining their own future gets short shrift. In fact, as far as we can hear, it gets no shrift. It is not an issue. Not really even a concern. The only concern that can be heard in public utterances are those of the Cold War. At issue is not how we can help, or hinder, the Philippine people in finding their own destiny, but how we can stop a mythical Soviet attempt to conquer the world.

The irony of all this is that in casting its defense of the American corporate empire in Cold War terms, our government—both the Republicans and Democrats—make a third path infinitely more difficult. As Reagan continues to define national independence and self-determination as a Communist plot orchestrated by the Evil Empire, he helps guarantee that every movement against existing Third World tyrannies can expect aid only from the Soviets—and that the organizers of such movements become more dependent on the Soviets not only for guns, wheat and oil, but also for ideas about politics.

But no matter what successive administrations have done or could do, the empire is crumbling. Reagan and his predecessors are only encouraging and strengthening the Communist tendency in the Third World—and at a time when democratic socialism is eroding Soviet power and influence in both Western and Eastern Europe.

Meanwhile, the Soviet Union became the first major power to send Ferdinand Marcos congratulations on his reelection. They don't like the Filipino Maoist—or ex-Maoist—guerrillas any more than Cap Weinberger.

LETTERS

Revolution and Afghanistan

I FOUND MYSELF WITH AN UNCOMFORTABLE, if embarrassing, visceral reaction to the interchange between John B. Judis and Saul Landau (*ITT*, Feb. 12).

Landau cites an article by Fred Halliday in *The Nation* that credits the "small Afghan Communist Party" with bringing about much desired human rights and property reform to the very small and very unsophisticated nation.

About the time that article was published I was in conversations with Barhanuddin Giyasi, one of the original members of the 1978 Communist government, who was then in exile in the U.S. following one of the counter-coups taking place at that time. When the country "recalled" Babrak Karmal, through the Soviet medium, December 1979, Giyasi also returned to Afghanistan. He is now a top member of the current government.

Barhanuddin Giyasi studied eight years in the Soviet Union, learning economics. With the 1978 transfer of government (the real Russian-installed government began its life in the 1973 coup by Daud Khan and, just parenthetically, resulted in a brutal torturing and strangulation of my 14-year-old son), Barhanuddin was made director of the Ministry of Finance.

My conversations with him left me with a sense of helplessness and confusion. He is an attractive, quiet and bright man. His ideology was lucid and his morals beyond my comprehension. He, in effect, believed that he could help bring into being a purely egalitarian society, even though the baggage that comes with the communist ideology has yet to do that anywhere in the world.

And, in the bringing about of that ideal communist world to Afghanistan, he said, "We can afford to kill or drive out all but one million of our citizens and build that society." At the time the estimated population of Afghanistan was somewhere between 15 and 19 million.

I support peoples revolutions that will create a society with greater humanity, equality and justice. Scorched-earth policies, articulated by Giyasi and currently practiced by the Russian and Afghan armies, have no part of humanity, equality and justice.

I do question our administration's motives for supporting the Mujahadeen. Our Central American policy is reprehensible—and so is the Soviet/Karmal policy in Afghanistan.

Eugene L. Keyser
Walsenburg, Colo.

'Socialism' x 12

I READ WITH DISMAY, THEN OUTRAGE, JOHN Judis' piece on Deng (*ITT*, Jan. 15). The word "socialism" or socialist (or socialism or "socialist") was used 12 times in the first five paragraphs, and in each instance meaning something different! We are told that "Socialism, in Marx's philosophy, was meant to describe both a mode of production and stage of history that has *not yet come into being*" (my emphasis). But elsewhere we read that a mode of production yet to come into being is in fact already in existence, and moreover, *is in danger of disappearing!* "To the extent that they [the Chinese] continue to *discard the socialist system of central planning*" (my emphasis). Again: "But it still enjoys a vogue [socialism?] among 'socialist' leaders, who recognize that their political power depends on unchallengeable economic control?" Elsewhere we learn that Deng's success "has helped discredit Soviet style socialism." (Notice how the quotes around "socialism" come and go.) A final example of this confused double-talk tells us that "Economically, the socialist states have

In These Times is an independent newspaper committed to democratic pluralism and to helping build a popular movement for socialism in the United States. Our pages are open to a wide range of views on the left, both socialist and non-socialist. Except for editorial statements appearing on the editorial page, opinions expressed in columns and in feature or news stories are those of the author and are not necessarily those of the editors. We welcome comments and opinion pieces from our readers.

adopted Marx and Engels' concept of socialism as a marketless planned economy to justify a degree of state economic control that recalls ancient slave societies."

I thought *In These Times* was a non-sectarian paper interested in reality, not never-never land; interested in explaining socialism in the real world, not mystifying the whole thing! Isn't it time that we on the left recognized the real world for what it is. The reality of the actually existing socialism is the only one we've got, and we better learn to live with it. The socialism of Marx is where it belongs—in books. The socialism that we have is that born out of a life and death struggle with capitalism and ignorance, among other things.

It is obvious to anyone with any real understanding of history that the socialism we have is shaped by the external forces acting on it, as well as by the forces of those attempting to build it. In reality there is no fundamental difference between any of the existing socialist countries, largely because their internal structures are essentially forced on them by "advanced" capitalism. And moreover, the demands of development impose themselves on all countries which have chosen a non-capitalist route. And were they to be "pure socialist" states (whatever that is), they would hold even more in common. It is sheer idealism to compare the socialism of Marx, which was, by definition, a World Socialism, with the one that came to be. Every society that has chosen a route not to the liking of capital has had to fight every inch of the way, indeed they still do! The struggle is in fact intensifying—any fool can see that! Yet in the midst of all this turmoil, Judis chooses to compare the socialist states to ancient slave societies! I find it a most insulting statement.

China obviously has its problems as do all the socialist states, not the least of which is trying to survive in a world economic system dominated by the U.S. At the same time it is trying to create enough surplus to inch society forward. Whatever the rights and wrongs of China's present course, the leadership has only limited choices, given that it missed out (the Great Leap Forward) on industrializing the Russian way. For whatever else you can say about the Bolsheviks of the '20s and '30s, they were set upon a crash course of industrialization. And they did it, at a tremendous cost. The rights and wrongs of it are history.

Obviously, all the socialist states from Albania to Cuba are to some degree "deformed" from some "ideal" concept of socialism. The very fact that they are forced to spend vast chunks of social labor on the armed forces is, in and of itself, a "deformation." Marx's socialism wasn't about armies and guns, but what would you have socialist countries do? Stop

being socialist? Obviously, too, the bureaucracies impede growth, but at the same time they're part of the process of growing. The level of economic development that the Soviet Union is now approaching is causing an entirely new set of problems.

The impediments to change in all centrally planned economies is self-evidently the Plan itself, but then the Factory System wasn't designed for a socialist economy but a capitalist one. Unfortunately, there are no alternatives, except in hindsight. Socialist economies have been called upon to do things they weren't designed for—and have survived. The prospects, in fact, have never looked better.

William Bowles
Brooklyn, N.Y.

John B. Judis replies: In my article I distinguished between two rather than 12 varieties of socialism: Marx's concept of socialism and the actually existing socialism of today. Part of Bowles' mystification was due to an editorial error that surrounded several of my socialists with quotes.

But I may have confused readers by not making a further distinction between Marx's socialism and the socialism of the late 19th and early 20th century working-class movements. These movements, influenced by Marx, saw socialism as a system of public ownership and democratic control that would replace capitalism, but they did not embrace the full implications of Marx's theory of socialism. They did not identify socialism as a large factory in which the happy laborers cooperatively constructed use-values under the eye of the (duly-elected) central planners. Instead, reflecting their own diverse base, they made room in socialism for forms of private enterprise, particularly farming.

Pre-1917 socialists' unwillingness to take Marxism to its logical conclusion expressed in practical terms what would later become a theoretical insight: democracy depends not on the centralization of economic power, but on its diffusion. By subjecting all economic life to central control, Marxian socialism would lay the basis for a new authoritarianism.

Neither the Russian nor the Chinese revolutionaries initially believed that they had made "socialist revolutions." They came to believe so for two different reasons: first, theoretically, they were misled by Marx's model of socialism into identifying socialism with the achievement of a market-free economic base; second, they were prompted politically to lay claim to the popular legitimacy that having created socialism would bring. The two motives reinforced each other in so far as the Marxist form of central planning reinforced the Communist parties' centralized political control of the society.

But neither the countries themselves nor other socialist parties benefitted from this identification. Both the Chinese and Soviet leadership undertook vast and disastrous experiments intended partly to square their nations with the promises of Marx's socialist economics. And the Western socialist parties became identified with a politics that did not fulfill the promise of bourgeois democracy, as socialism was supposed to do, but spurned that promise in the name of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Deng's achievement has been to detach Marx's socialist economics from actually existing socialism. In doing so, he may make it possible for China to achieve the economic development that the Great Leap Forward denied it.

Has Deng introduced capitalism to China? It is too early to tell, but there are elements in Deng's new proposals for inherited land leases that would foster the beginnings of a Chinese capitalism. The point is, however, that China like the other actually existing socialist countries remains a hybrid of different modes of production. It cannot be identified with capitalism any more than it can be identified with socialism or Asian despotism. The analogy to Asian despotism is useful because it dispels the identification of marketless central planning with socialism.

I see swirling about beneath Bowles' reflections the precise theory of socialism that I meant to combat in my article on Deng. According to this theory, socialism, identified with a marketless centrally planned economic base, has been achieved in the "socialist" countries, but will not reach fruition (communism) until the press of internal and external enemies allows a more appropriate democratic political superstructure to be erected atop the base. My point is the opposite: that the authoritarian superstructure of socialism perfectly fits the monolithic economic base.

According to Bowles' view of socialism, there is "no fundamental difference" between the actually existing socialist countries because they have the same economic base. My point is again the opposite. There are the widest differences among the countries calling themselves socialist and these differences suggest far different courses of development.

For instance, Soviet socialism reflects that nation's czarist past. Russia never enjoyed the full-blown feudal system of Western Europe in which power was dispersed among the nobility; its czars imposed from the beginning a strong state that dominated both the nobility and the peasantry.

Countries like Hungary, Czechoslovakia and East Germany, by contrast, experienced feudalism, capitalism and the growth of democratic movements. Socialism in the form of Soviet communism was introduced into their countries by force or threat of force. Their political and economic systems, unlike that of the Soviet Union, are highly unstable. And when they have exploded—Hungary in 1956 and Czechoslovakia in 1968—they have intimated a future society closer to the original goals of Western socialism than to either capitalism or Soviet socialism.

SYLVIA



by Nicole Hollander



DIALOG

By Bill Montross

IS OPPOSITION TO A NATIONAL union by a local affiliate automatically progressive? Does trade union solidarity translate into "I won't support you when you need help, but you damn well better support me when I want help?" Is international-bashing a sufficient substitute for political analysis?

For me, the answer to these questions is an unqualified "No." But many on the left have a different view of the struggle of United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) Local P-9 workers at the George A. Hormel plant in Austin, Minn.

The crisis in the meatpacking industry goes back 10 years, and intensified dramatically in 1980 when concessionary bargaining hit with a vengeance. But contrary to popular myth, the UFCW International originally led the fight for a national rate and against concessions signed by go-it-alone locals in the meatpacking industry. Only after three years of plant shutdowns, lost jobs and company bankruptcies was the international forced to sign its first concessionary contract. Before that the national wage and benefit pattern had been broken by a few of local unions that cut deals with management in the mistaken belief that such deals would save jobs. The international recognized the damage that would result from even one concessionary contract. Some locals did not.

In 1984 the eight locals representing Hormel workers began another round of negotiations with the company. In July, when the wage part of their contract was about to expire, seven locals voted to strike the company. But Local P-9 leadership refused to support strike action. And two months later, just at the moment worker solidarity needed to be at its highest, the leadership of Local P-9 withdrew altogether from the negotiations, saying it could do better for itself by carrying on its own negotiations with Hormel.

Since production in Austin represents almost half of Hormel's total, the removal of those workers from negotiations undercut the rest of the locals. The consequently negotiated contract, while still the best in the industry, was below what a united Hormel membership might have won.

Local P-9 had negotiated its own agreement in 1978. It gave the company a contractual right to roll back wages by \$1.94 per hour. But having gone its own way again in 1984, Local P-9 now comes to other UFCW locals preaching worker solidarity.

Where was the leadership of P-9 when they were called upon to display solidar-



The National Guard has protected workers going back to work and new workers hired to displace strikers.

Local P-9 is leading a mass suicide

ity? One place they were was lambasting other union brothers and sisters. The November 16, 1984, issue of the Local P-9 newspaper, *The Unionist*, had this comment on the postal workers' difficult negotiations with the Reagan administration:

"[Ordinary letter writers] are subsidizing relatively high postal salaries. [E]xcessive labor costs will continue until Congress...permits competition in the delivery of first class mail.... [C]ompetitive functions to restrain prices and prevent unreasonable pay levels. The 600,000-strong...unionized postal workers command a great deal of political clout from their votes and campaign contributions. They will, of course, have their way in excluding competition. They have their jobs to protect...."

Are these the words of left trade union leadership? Not in my book. But they are hardly surprising. After all, the head of Local P-9 believes that "If an employer is fair to its employees, there is no need for a union." (*Minneapolis Star and Tribune*, April 22, 1985.)

The monthly newsletter of the Packinghouse Division of the UFCW International carries quite a different tone in its December 1984 issue:

"For some, the solution seems to be only to stop wage concessions and to develop a militant-populist union membership.... As sincere as these individuals no doubt are, their lack of long-term view and their failure to understand the predatory nature of the system they are up against has led them to treat only the symptoms and not the disease. Surely no one can argue against stopping wage concessions.... Left unanswered is how such an agenda can change Corporate America's goal of maximizing profits at everyone else's expense.... How is it that a society can be organized to respect property rights more than human rights?... How is it that people who don't produce anything at all pocket the wealth and leave working people with a meager existence?"

The UFCW International, together with its National Packing Committee, developed a strategy to stop concessions in

the meatpacking industry. By 1985, in fact, the employers' attacks had been halted and concessions had been stopped. Every contract negotiated by the international union since 1984 has contained improvements. Rather than being the head of a local union movement confronting concessions, Local P-9 is a Johnny-come-lately. The struggle was not without cost—many packing plants were shut down and many jobs were lost.

But until the economic system within which U.S. trade unions operate undergoes radical change, workers will continue to suffer conditions and receive wages and benefits that militancy alone cannot correct. In the meantime, the militancy of these P-9 workers should be joined with that of their brothers and sisters in the Hormel chain and the rest of the packinghouse committee in improving wages and working conditions for all packinghouse workers. Help organize the unorganized plants, such as Armour and IBP, which operate at wage rates \$3-\$4 below those at Austin and represent the greatest obstacle to attaining (and sustaining) better wages and conditions. Oppose scabs and the National Guard at Austin, but struggle inside the local to end its mass suicide. Don't further isolate yourself by talking about disaffiliating and starting your own meatpacking union. It is interesting to note that despite its fundamental disagreements with P-9's strategy, the international continues to send more than \$50,000 per week—\$2 million since the strike began—to Austin workers.

Those leading Local P-9 are not the vanguard of any worker movement. Rather than promoting solidarity, the core of P-9's strategy has been isolationism, individualism and division. The strike has brought 1,500 strong union members to the brink of disaster, while the Hormel Company has not been the least bit affected. (Despite the workers' heroic militancy, the plant is operating at nearly full capacity.) The leadership of P-9 was unwilling to ask its members to risk their jobs in support of all Hormel workers, but workers from these other locals are now expected to fall into P-9's line.

When will we on the left realize that not every dissident local union official is progressive, and not every international union officer is a cigar-smoking, jump-into-bed-with-the-company bureaucratic reactionary. I would have thought that lesson had been learned long ago. I guess I was wrong.

Bill Montross works in the research office of the United Food and Commercial Workers International and is a longtime member of the National Lawyers Guild.

ARAFAT: TERRORIST OR PEACEMAKER? U.S. NATIONAL PUBLICITY TOUR

In 1979, Alan Hart, a highly regarded BBC correspondent, was asked to undertake an informal but high-level Middle East peace initiative. His mission was to establish and maintain a secret channel of communication between Arafat and certain Israeli leaders.

As a result of what he learned, Alan Hart has written *Arafat: Terrorist or Peacemaker?* which is now in its second printing (London: Sidgwick & Jackson, 1985, \$19.95).

Hart has been a journalist for 22 years, reporting from war-zones for most of that time with Independent Television Network (ITN) and the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC). Alan's many years as a war correspondent are evident by his style and fast-paced delivery.

He is intensely committed to a negotiated peace between the Israelis and the Palestinians. His passion and sincerity stir people to discussion on this timely issue.

Hart will be available to speak at community events, universities, bookstores, churches and synagogues. The tour is tentatively scheduled to begin the last week in March and continue through early May, 1986. If you would like additional information about Hart's schedule or planning an event in your area, please contact:

Charles Briody
Al Staats and Associates, 2000 Florida Ave., NW, Washington D.C.
202-232-8350

DIALOG

By Hardy Green

IN HIS QUEST TO DISCREDIT THE most significant rank-and-file-led struggle of recent memory, Bill Montross invokes the international's oft-repeated line that P-9 broke solidarity with others and now is dragging fellow United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) members "to the brink of disaster" along with its 1,500 members. This is just plain untrue, as was made clear by P-9 President Jim Guyette in a letter to UFCW President William Wynn in January:

As you well know from conversations held as recently as October...Local P-9 never "withdrew from the Hormel chain negotiations," we were simply never invited by the international union. As our contract expired at a different date from those at some other plants, Hormel never sent our local a notice of contract termination. P-9's executive board sought to discover what rights we had to support the locals whose contracts were expiring, such as attempting to discover whether or not we had the right to strike prior to the expiration of our contract. We did not withdraw—rather, we were convinced by the international union to stand aside to let the other locals negotiate, and we were commended by the international and the locals for standing aside.

Under the leadership of the international, union contracts at each of Hormel's three main facilities have different expiration dates. Consequently, the international is responsible for a situation in which one group of union workers have contractual obligations to perform the work of struck plants, objectively acting as strike-breakers against their brothers and sisters. This has certainly been the situation faced by Austin members, who have witnessed members from Fremont, Neb., and Ottumwa, Iowa, putting in long hours of overtime during the fall and winter to help Hormel compensate for loss of its most productive plant.

P-9's Corporate Campaign has always

The Austin strike has brought 1,500 strong unionists to the brink of disaster.

placed the highest emphasis on labor solidarity. Since the effort to restore Hormel's unilaterally-imposed 23 percent wage cut began, local members have logged thousands of miles in car caravans, visiting workers at plant gates and in union halls across the Midwest. Working together, Local P-9 members and Corporate Campaign Inc. have broken down the barriers that existed between workers at the many Hormel and Hormel-controlled FDL plants and mobilized support for P-9's fight from more than 1,500 unions and other organizations in every state in the country.

The crowning success of these efforts was demonstrated in recent months when UFCW Local 431 members in Ottumwa and Local 22 members in Fremont voted to demand that the international sanction P-9's roving pickets. They understood this not as an altruistic gesture, but as taking a stand in their own interest. However, their votes and their pleas were ignored by President Wynn, who, as usual, knew better than his members. Nevertheless, members across the country have expressed their solidarity by observing P-9's lines: in Ottumwa, 95 percent of the members refused to cross.

Exactly what is the great knowledge enjoyed by the UFCW leadership that allows them to ignore the will of the membership? What is the wisdom that leads UFCW Packinghouse Division Director Lewie Anderson to go on the network television program *Nightline* at the height of the strike to debate Jim Guyette, so effectively arguing the company line that Hor-

give a hearing to the members' fightback proposal. Then he held a press conference to announce that the international was not supporting P-9, but undertaking a massive attack on nonunion ConAgra/Armour. The promised campaign never materialized, and the whole attempt to organize ConAgra ended in failure when that company's workers voted overwhelmingly

cessions. And, once the company has been encouraged to fight on and on, it takes one hell of a union president to broadcast to the world that his members' struggle has been an "embarrassing and costly failure."

But that is the kind of union the UFCW has become.

Montross' paean to the wisdom of that union's leaders concludes as it began with two basic points: 1) not every rank-and-file struggle is progressive, least of all that of Local P-9; and 2) the UFCW has been a leader in fighting concessions, not in selling them to its membership. Let's look at these.

Is the struggle of Local P-9 a progressive one? Thousands of union members across the country have telephoned, written and visited Austin to tell how their membership has been energized by P-9's struggle. Hundreds of P-9ers and their family members have gained new organizational skills, new understanding of the power structure of our society and a new

P-9's high standard of democracy is truly progressive



Local P-9 members and other supporters have fought militantly, but appear to have lost the battle.

mel officials were able to take the night off?

Wynn himself admitted their approach to *Business Week* magazine in April of 1985. The union, he said, had been on a "controlled retreat" since December of 1980, during which time pork meatpackers' wages had fallen as much as 40 percent. A union "Position Paper on Local P-9/Hormel, Austin Situation" released in October of 1985 said that the only solution to the chaos prevailing in the industry was to win a "national wage rate" of around \$10 per hour. For Local P-9 and many others, they were said to say, that rate could be won only if members took a pay cut in spite of the enormous profitability of such employers as Hormel.

Unfortunately for this theory, the UFCW has been successful in reaching this "national wage rate" only at Hormel, the most profitable packer in the industry whose profits increased by 31 percent last year alone. (The company has done so well that Chairman Richard Knowlton saw fit to give himself a \$230,000 raise, boosting his salary to \$570,000.) No matter how much rhetoric the International and Montrose give to this matter, the UFCW has succeeded only in winning even lower wages elsewhere.

But then, as the UFCW leaders describe the situation, the real and true battle is always somewhere other than where the members might think it is. When Local P-9 was planning its Corporate Campaign program against Hormel and First Bank, for example, Lewie Anderson agreed to

against representation by the UFCW.

Next, during intense P-9 Corporate Campaign activities this fall, Anderson stated in a memo to local union officials that the real place to take a stand in the packinghouse industry was at Morrell. But soon enough Anderson was on his knees again, as he led the Morrell workers out on strike and gave them no program of action other than to wait the company out. After weeks of inactivity and lack of direction, the Morrell workers went back to work for a contract paying substantially less than the UFCW's sought-after floor of \$10 per hour. They will be earning an average of \$9.25 for most of their three-year contract.

Oscar Mayer workers report a similar record of defeat, division and misdirection. This summer when Oscar Mayer workers from Nashville, Tenn., took their roving pickets to Texas, Wisconsin, Iowa, Illinois and Pennsylvania, the international sent word to workers there that all must cross through the picket lines and go to work.

Now, with P-9's roving pickets active across the country, the international has sent in its representatives to scare other Hormel workers across P-9's picket lines.

It's a hell of a union that encourages one group of its members to perform the work of other members who are out on an authorized strike. It takes some kind of union men to tell workers over and over that they must stop fighting, that they can only lose, that they will only antagonize the company into demanding greater con-

sense of the possibility of opposition to "corporate greed" and political cynicism. The lessons they have learned will last for generations.

Is the UFCW a fighter against concessions? P-9 has known the international and its leaders only as promoters of concessions. Recent articles in *Business Week* and the *Wall Street Journal* tell us that this may change. The UFCW has been a strong advocate of concessions, these business publications say. But, because of P-9's fight, they add, the UFCW may be compelled to take a tougher line in the future.

Let me add another question: Under these leaders, is the UFCW a progressive organization? Again, I quote from Guyette's January letter to Wynn:

I have felt for some time that different conceptions of leadership are at the heart of our ongoing disagreement. In a letter you wrote to me last May 10, you quoted P-9 Business Agent Pete Winkels as saying that he follows the dictates of the rank and file. You, in turn, commented, "I've always held union representatives to a higher standard of leadership." I ask you now: what higher standard than democratic process is there? Just who are these leaders who are so wise that they know the interests of the rank and file better than the members themselves?

Is it possible for a mass organization run so completely from the top down to be progressive?

Hardy Green is an associate of Corporate Campaign, Inc.

By Alan Cheuse

WELCOME TO THE FUTURE! Aside from the usual quota of death, disease and destruction that seems to be our lot, the major aesthetic irritation appears to be a flood of fiction about various (mostly ghastly) versions of the future—many of which might have made Orwell himself turn a little pale.

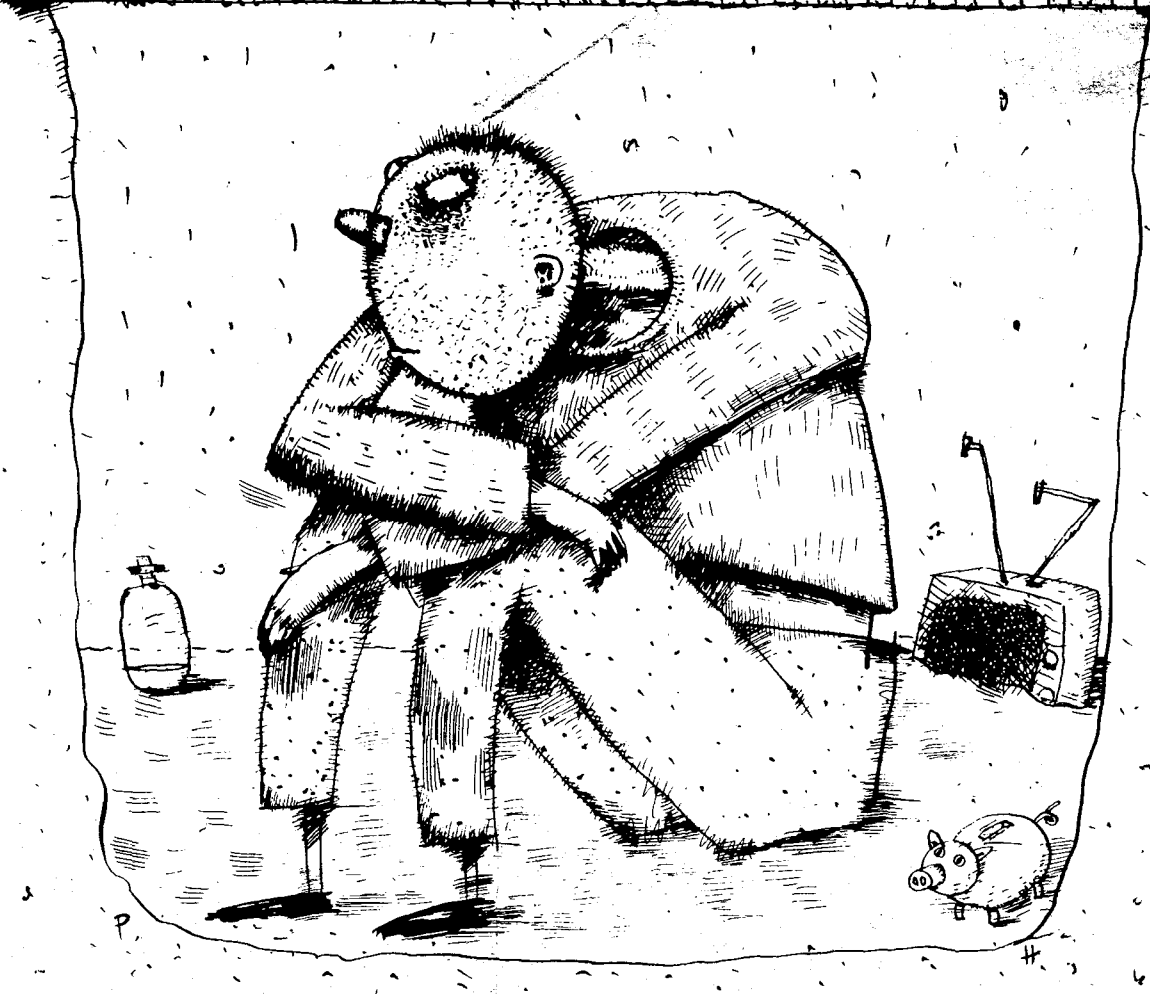
Waiting for the End of the World

Last year we saw two fine novels that treated the possibility of impending self-destruction with great style and panache. One of these books was called *Waiting for the End of the World* by Madison Smart Bell. This young Tennessee writer has a penchant for fiction about urban devastations that might seem perverse coming from a farm boy if he didn't have such a fantastic imagination. Bell's first book, *The Washington Square Ensemble*, treated us to a quartet of heroin pushers playing out their grotesque lives on the edge of Greenwich Village. In his new work, soon to appear in paperback, he portrays a group of Russian Orthodox terrorists whose apocalyptic vision includes inducing Armageddon by detonating a plutonium bomb beneath New York's Times Square.

A city held hostage! A crazed vision made triumphant! That's the trick Bell commits in this weird, wonderfully composed novel, a philosophical thriller as compelling in its own bizarre way as Robert Stone's *Hall of Mirrors*. When Larkin, Bell's epileptic hero, tormented by his vision of New York's apparently impending demise, dreams of darkest Brooklyn, the darkness shimmers with the incandescence of wild talent: "The buildings of the city were instantly alive with fire. The city's unitary structure went transparent as a crystal honeycomb within which Larkin could separately perceive eight million luminescent souls. Larkin floated on a powerful blast of wind, in the midst of an odor of lotus and honey.... The amazing, unbearable light coming from the city bound all his senses to itself. The vision was forceful as the sudden return of memory."

Fiskadoro

Another Doomsday book that appeared last year—and which will come out in paperback within a few months—was Denis Johnson's *Fiskadoro*. This stylishly composed novel is set in a post-atomic Florida around the middle of the next century. Up North, everything's hot with radioactivity. Down here at the beach, man, we find a raggle-taggle cluster of fishing villages inhabited by a melange of blacks, Caucasians and Cuban-Americans who survive by fishing. A few people try to keep the old ways alive, such as the Vietnamese-American Mr. Cheung, who can recite the Declaration of Independence.... and his 100-year plus mother in whose



Ecuadorian coast to the Galápagos islands, and the novel gives us his version of how our world died and a new evolutionary period began.

As the last boat to the Galápagos islands—where Darwin learned so much about animal adaptation—gets ready for its voyage we hear a lot about the members of the crew and passengers, some Americans, some Japanese, all of whom prepare to depart from a mainland ravaged by hunger, war and financial crises. Such events came about because, as our narrator tells us, people at first put too much of their faith in paper money and then suddenly came to distrust it. "Wake up, you idiots!" he informs us entire nations were saying. "Whatever made you think paper was so valuable?"

So the governments of the West crumble, and our ship of fools sails on to the Galápagos where it becomes a bastion of fertility. A virus sweeps the rest of the world, you see, and leaves our motley bunch, stranded on the island chain when the ship breaks down, to populate the world from their variegated gene pool (including some mutations resulting from the bomb blasts in Hiroshima).

Vonnegut's version of the end of the world is as charming as anything he has written. And if some readers may feel uncomfortable about our evolution into a new species that's as close to Flipper as it is to New Communist Man, at least they can enjoy the ideas that the veteran writer treats with characteristic playful seriousness.

After the Flood

Much less enjoyable, though more admirable, is the accomplishment of P.C. Jersild, a Swedish doctor (and member of the international organization of physicians against nuclear war). His novel *After the Flood* describes a post-atomic war world in which there is scarcely a single strand of pleasure, a world of aging survivors who have lost the desire to make another generation. On the barren north coast of an unnamed Scandinavian island a little community has emerged in the wake of world-wide nuclear combat. Its inhabitants are the former inmates of two local institutions, one a prison the other a convent. Into this place comes Edwin, the homosexual cabin boy who has been cast off by his old ship captain master. As he struggles to survive on the island we encounter its various hardships and oddly tormented landscapes.

Although the world in this novel ended mainly in fire, ice becomes one of the main metaphors for the new, a landscape of winter in which not only desire for love but also fuel and food supplies are dwindling. Life after atomic war, Jersild seems to suggest, will make the dark view of Ingmar Bergman films seem like a carnival.

Alan Cheuse is the author of *The Bohemians* and the forthcoming novel *The Grandmothers' Club*. He is currently writer in residence at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.

FICTION

Writers looking after the end of the world

memory the fall of Saigon persists as myth and nightmare.

But there's a new religion brewing in this region whose pantheon of gods includes Jesus, Quetzalcoatl and reggae singer Bob Marley. This is the way Denis Johnson imagines the world ending, not with a bang but with a reggae beat. "Wait a minute, wait a minute," the matriarch of one of these villages shouts into one of the world's last functioning microphones during an oceanside prayer meeting. I got something to tell you—all—we're turning into monkeys! Monkeys is the point of it, back-sliding out to the deep-down primitive state where Bob Marley can't never find us!"

Bob Marley never does, but Allah apparently arrives. This society isn't backsliding, it's evolving, according to an unnamed narrator who tells the story from the perspective of a future even more distant. He focuses our attention on a teenage boy named Fiskadoro, the son of a fisherman who dies in a boating accident, leaving the kid in the charge of Mr. Cheung. Fiskadoro is one of those world-historical figures on whose life everything in the future depends. When he sneaks off into the swamps and undergoes a grisly initiation at the hands of a secretive band of everglades blacks, he changes his body and mind—and the world to come.

The past is never past, it is always present, Faulkner once wrote. In the case of Denis Johnson's inventive novel we might have to say that the future is never the future, it is always the present.

With its sly, reggae-induced patois and sentence patterns and its depiction of a makeshift world without serious memory, *Fiskadoro* is a poet's science fiction that implies a great deal about the way we live now.

The Real Life of Alejandro Mayta

Another futuristic vision appears in the recent novel by Peruvian Mario Vargas Llosa, and it's bleaker, though no less interesting, than Johnson's. In *The Real Life of Alejandro Mayta* we find ourselves in "an apocalyptic Peru, devastated by war, terrorism and foreign intervention." The self-conscious narrator, a man not unlike Vargas Llosa himself, is a Lima novelist obsessed with a childhood friend who turned revolutionary and instigated a Trotskyist rebellion in the Andes in the 1950s. The "novelist" interviews as many principals still alive in order to imagine the life of Mayta, the apparent leader of the rebellion.

The result is a series of alternating chapters in which present scenes (or future ones, as the narrator would have it) become overlaid with the events of the past, and we witness the emerging figure of Mayta—his hunger strike as a student on behalf of Lima's poor multitudes, his fateful meeting with the young officer who heads the mountain garrison where the revolt takes place, the subsequent coup and its bloody aftermath, and Mayta's incarceration in the infamous Lurigancho prison.

But the real coup here seems to

be that of the novelist who takes reality in his hands and creates a Peru future, present and past whose makeup he determines as he (sometimes literally) jogs along on his quest. Calling himself a realist, he invents what he calls "lies" or fictions about his characters and his country that form an important part of what he describes as "that unbelievably complex web of causes and effects, reverberations and accidents that make up human history." This seems perfectly appropriate since, as he tells us, information in Peru "has ceased to be objective and has become pure fantasy—in newspapers, radio, television and ordinary conversation.... Since it's impossible to know what's really happening, we Peruvians lie, invent, dream and take refuge in illusion. Because of these strange circumstances, Peruvian life, a life in which so few actually do read, has become literary."

Galápagos

Another of this season's literary futures materializes near the coast of South America—that's Kurt Vonnegut's latest novel, the typically coy, whimsically titled *Galápagos*. Vonnegut's future zips us a million years ahead in order to tell a tale not much further beyond the present than Vargas Llosa's. His narrator is a million-year-old ghost of a Vietnam veteran who went AWOL to live in Sweden toward the end of the war and eventually died in a ship-building accident. For a while he haunted the tourist boat that took visitors from the

INPRINT

ASBESTOS

Working them to death

Outrageous Misconduct: The Asbestos Industry on TrialBy Paul Brodeur
Pantheon, \$19.95 hardbound

By Tom Jenn

EACH YEAR WE INVEST MILLIONS in the crusade to find a cure for cancer, yet its causes remain in our environment. Hazardous waste dumps contaminate groundwater, industrial and automotive emissions pollute the air, and suspect additives, junk food and cigarettes spoil our bodies. Though we're all collectively responsible for this paradoxical poisoning, most of us are too busy with everyday affairs to know about environmental safety. We've little choice but to entrust our health to government and business leaders in the know.

In the free-trade combat zone, that trust can take a beating. *Outrageous Misconduct: The Asbestos Industry on Trial* by Paul Brodeur is the story of trust betrayed. Brodeur's superbly researched indictment of the asbestos industry sometimes gets bogged down in sheer fact, but this dense material is offset by the author's tough-minded reportage. Brodeur relates how, for nearly 50 years, Manville Corporation (formerly Johns-Manville) deceived the community about asbestos hazards, which caused the illness and death of thousands of its workers.

If this sounds like a simplistic view of a complex political controversy, let Manville corporate managers tell their side of the story. Don't pay attention to their public statements, however. What counts is what they say in the privacy of the corporate boardroom. According to minutes of meetings and memos uncovered during the asbestos litigation, Manville officers knew of the links between asbestos and cancer of its workers early in the '40s. Publicly, though, they denied this connection until 1964.

Killing them softly

When confronted with data that showed workers were contracting asbestosis—a debilitating and potentially fatal disease caused by exposure to asbestos—Manville's chief lawyer explained the company position. We don't inform workers they're dying, Vandiver Brown said in the early '40s, because if they knew they would quit and sue the company. Manville withholds this information because "we save a lot of money that way," he said, adding that the workers are happier not knowing their fate.

Company scientists also fell into the same (il)logical trap. Dr.

Kenneth Smith, who conducted a survey of Manville workers in 1948, agreed with Brown. His study of one plant found that out of 708 workers only four had healthy lungs. Yet as long as a worker was not disabled, he wrote in a company memo, "he should not be told of his condition so that he can live and work in peace and the company can benefit by his many years of experience."

As scientists doctored data, Manville's adroit legal staff manipulated the law to deny fair payments to injured workers. They often forced out-of-court settlements, or dragged each case into a lengthy, costly trial. Sometimes workers pressed claims only to die during hearings. Later, relatives would receive meager checks that barely covered legal fees. All the while, employees continued to fall ill from unsafe working conditions.

Manville conspiracy

Manville's defense was bound to crumble, which it did in the '60s and '70s, when prosecutors uncovered evidence of the company's conspiracy to hide information from the public. When workers began winning cases, the number of lawsuits against the company skyrocketed. By 1982 nearly

Manville knew of links between asbestos and cancer in the '40s, but denied this connection publicly until 1964.

17,000 cases clogged the courts and juries were finding Manville guilty of reckless and willful misconduct, leveling fines of up to a million dollars a crack.

In a last-ditch move to avoid responsibility for its past crimes Manville filed for bankruptcy in the spring of '82. Though the corporation was in good financial health, lawyers argued that it needed government protection from the estimated 50,000 lawsuits anticipated, which could cost \$5 billion to settle. The move effectively blocked all claims against the company for three years, as the issue remained stalled in bankruptcy court. During that time, the company's profits surged

forward and plaintiffs continued to fall ill from work-related cancer.

Through full-page newspaper ads and congressional lobbying, Manville called for legislative protection from future lawsuits. But in 1985 it was forced to accept a compromise that weakened its financial foundation. All tolled, the corporation is locked into paying nearly \$2.5 billion over the next 25 years to a special asbestos claims board. If Manville fails to bring in enough revenues to pay off the claims, it will have to sell

ers are compensated fairly and quickly for their injuries (if there even is "fair" compensation for death). And the decision must also send a message to business that society will not tolerate the abuse of safety standards, nor will we allow potentially hazardous products into the community.

Viewed in these terms, the Manville settlement is far from a victory for environmental safety or workers' rights. Tens of thousands of victims will not see compensation for years to come. Potentially harmful asbestos still remains in many public schools and buildings. With no clean-up efforts scheduled, several hundred thousand people are expected to die in the next 30 years from this and other low-level exposure to asbestos.

The impact of the settlement on

product safety. The measures would effectively shift the burden to prove a product's safety from producers to consumers, and make it more difficult for victims to collect damages. These bills would set compensation for work-related illnesses, like asbestosis, at levels favorable to business.

In spite of the \$900,000 industry has funneled into political action committee contributions aimed at the legislation, the bills have met with stiff opposition. And *Outrageous Misconduct* should give more ammunition to that opposition—though the book will never be the best-seller it deserves to be. Brodeur has built an argument so thorough that it can't be refuted by the asbestos industry, yet his critique is also so involved that it probably can't be grasped by the millions of unsuspecting



Peter Hannan

up to 80 percent of its common stock to the board.

Most journalists either hailed the settlement as a worker-rights victory or condemned it as an unfair punishment that would cripple business—but not Brodeur. His years of experience covering the asbestos controversy, which won him a 1985 trial lawyers association award, has led him to a different conclusion. The settlement is only a victory, he argues, if work-

the business community has hardly been encouraging. It has merely spurred corporate leaders to lobby harder for laws holding them less accountable. Several versions of the Uniform Product Liability Act, introduced by Robert Kasten (R-WI), have made their way into the Senate. The bills, supported by Reagan and an impressive alliance of corporations, would impose strict limits on the responsibility of manufacturers for

consumers who will eventually suffer from their unwitting exposure to toxic asbestos products. *Outrageous Misconduct*, though far from arm-chair reading, will nonetheless carry its message to patient readers. It's a message we can't afford to ignore: corporations must be held accountable for the safety of their products, or every body's health will suffer.

Tom Jenn is a Minneapolis-based writer and cartoonist.

WORK

Laboring under false illusions

Brave New Workplace

By Robert Howard
 Elisabeth Sifton Books/Viking,
 223 pp., \$16.95

Inside the Circle: A Union Guide to QWL

By Mike Parker
 Labor Notes/South End Press,
 154 pp., \$10

By David Moberg

BOSSES HAVE ALWAYS HAD a problem with their workers that is much like the old saw, "You can lead a horse to water, but you can't make him drink." Slaves reportedly misused or broke tools deliberately. Frederick Taylor, the inventor of "scientific management," was only one of many who set out to stop what he called "systematic soldiering," or deliberate slowing of pace. Henry Ford thought that a \$5 day—combined with a comprehensive supervision of home and work life—would create a compliant, motivated workforce. Others have relied on piecework, assembly lines and incentive plans as well as simple despotism. Managers everywhere regularly complain of strikes, absenteeism, featherbedding and other interruptions by those pesky humans on whom they regrettably depend.

Even when workers think they are foiling the boss and "making out" they participate in a game of work that keeps production going and obscures the reality that it is the boss who ultimately makes out, as sociologist Michael Burawoy argued in his fascinating study, *Manufacturing Consent*.

Will the problem be solved with the Brave New Workplace that journalist Robert Howard describes in his thoughtful, engagingly written anecdotal account of corporate plans for work? In the not-too-distant future robots and other computerized automation will eliminate many jobs, including those in one of the fastest-growing fields, clerical work. And Howard argues (like other recent observers, such as Harley Shaiken) that for those who remain, computerization mostly offers more ways for managers to monitor and control minute details of work, not new skills and control to those who do the work.

High-tech panacea

Unpleasant as this type of automation may be for workers, it can even be counterproductive for the employer—as Howard illustrates in the case of an Eastern Airline mechanic. With new computer-controlled tools, management tried to change the mechanic into a clerk; but he circumvented them by demonstrating that if the programming were within his grasp, productivity would be much higher. Most workers, however, aren't as lucky as this mechanic and must simply suffer their new electronic chains. The psychological demands of this new work, which requires "paying attention" more than thinking and manipulating abstractions more than sensual products, creates unusually high levels of stress. The human reality again foils the corporate planners.

So increasingly managers try simply to integrate workers into the computer system. Along with the computer hardware and software now comes "roleware," creating the proper attitudes for work.

Both Howard and Mike Parker, a well-educated electrician at Ford and an active union member, are concerned with the new methods being used to harness workers' efforts to the demands of the employer. From Paradise—a dubiously dubbed back office at Citibank in New York—to Silicon Valley, employers are attempting to personalize the workplace, to tap normal social impulses for corporate ends and to inculcate an illusion of meaningfulness and emotion in the work. (A requisite weekly beer bash at a computer company, for example, is used to build team spirit and educate workers about company goals.)

Some of Howard's management sources are blunt. Talking about clerical workers in whom she was trying to build trust for a drastic change, one manager said, "You don't want them to feel that they don't have control of their jobs anymore. I wanted to make them feel that they had a little input into the decisions." Then she added, "Of course, they really don't. There was a management task force for that."

The "human potential" drift of recent decades has gained a new

perversion as employers now focus on the creation of a self rather than on craft or, certainly, class. Not so incidentally the self encouraged sees him or herself as free, yet is molded to the new corporation.

In *Inside the Circle: A Union Guide to QWL*, Parker writes as a dedicated unionist to other union members, and any union leader or member confronted with QWL (quality of worklife) in his or her workplace should definitely read this book.

Parker critically examines quality circles, quality of worklife (QWL), which are employee involvement plans and related programs that have become popular in many industries. (He discusses auto and communications most extensively.) Although he acknowledges that they appeal to common longings of workers and deal with a "vacuum" left by both labor and management, he is relentlessly hostile to these plans. "Most of the QWL-type programs currently in place...are not about improving the quality of our working lives and may in fact be destroying what little we already have," Parker writes. "Instead of providing us with more control or influence over our jobs as they sometimes claim, they are taking away our only real power by undermining our unions."

He systematically and subtly analyzes the pitfalls of quality cir-

cles, the small-group discussions about how to make work better, which are usually set up by management with limited union participation. Such groups try to break down any "we-they" distinction between management and labor and create a new social identity for workers as a team that can be antagonistic to other worker teams or the union.

Costly benefit

A group of worker "facilitators" are usually hired and paid by the company, creating a new avenue of mobility for workers that competes with the union for worker-leaders. Management-style thinking is encouraged: in a cost-benefit analysis, for example, savings in labor costs are always a benefit with no calculation of the potential loss to workers of jobs.

Parker believes that quality circles yield little after an initial burst of enthusiasm. His critical review of other studies fuels that skepti-

Most workers must simply suffer their electronic chains.

cism, although there are inconclusive studies that are much more favorable. Yet management does gain from them, he argues. It can pick workers' brains and use their informal knowledge, often the basis of what little power they have in the workplace, against them. Quality circles can aid in building more cooperation with management, openness to concessions, and submission to management flexibility. And they can ultimately undermine unionism.

Ironically, unions may even further this with their own defensive strategy. Typically unions recommend that QWL be kept strictly apart from collective bargaining, but that can lead to progressive narrowing of collective bargaining, even though, as Parker notes, anything that can be discussed in quality circles can also be the subject of bargaining—and probably should be. (One critical difference: quality circles give workers the sense of direct involvement that they almost never feel in collective bargaining, an indictment of contemporary unionism.)

Parker and Howard both look at the new "enchanted" workplace similarly, but there are a couple of significant differences. Howard sees the potential for quality circles to grow into some stronger institution for worker control. Despite his criticism of this view, Parker indirectly suggests the critical factor—the broader social, political and union context. If there were a revived labor movement fighting for control, then Howard's optimism might have more solid grounding.

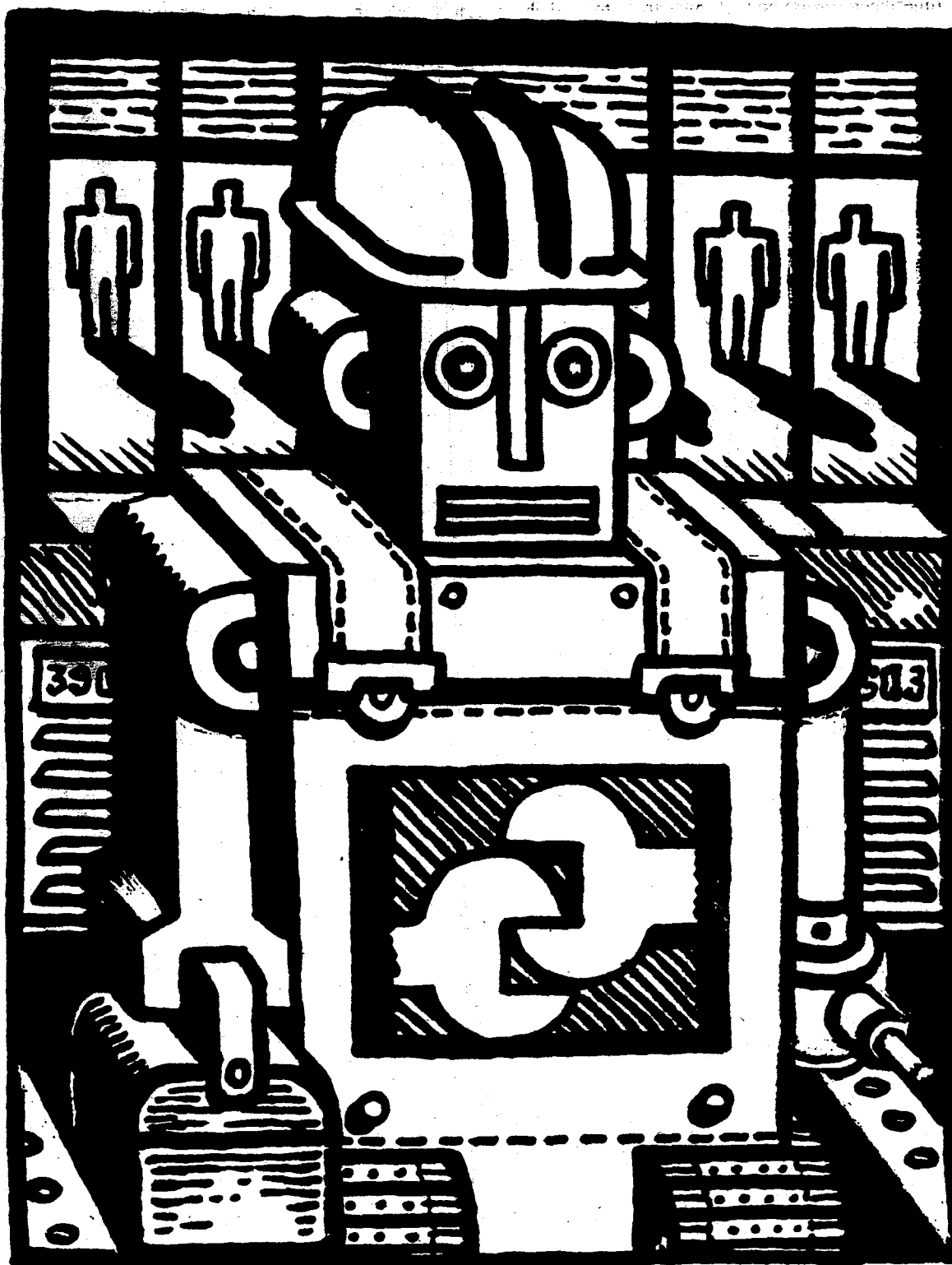
Union rigidity

Also, Parker and Howard look at the proliferation of job classifications in different lights. Howard sees the defense of these classifications as a manifestation of "job control unionism" that simply reflects the bureaucratic, Taylorized, fragmented organization of work imposed by management. Parker sees their defense as a source of shop-floor power, safety and job protection. Both are right. But the solution is neither QWL nor simply dogged defense of job definitions. As Parker observes, "Classifications or strict work rules are not principles of unionism. In fact, unions came to rely on shop rules and classifications in the '40s and '50s in place of other forms of shop floor power, such as a strong line steward system." Because whatever they may hope to do, unions must regain that shop—or office—direct power.

Throughout much of Parker's book there is a tone of militant defensiveness that responds to only one part of labor's current problems. For example, Parker is right that ultimately becoming more competitive or working smarter won't guarantee jobs, since the same techniques can be used elsewhere. But workers and unions operate in the short-term as well as in the long sweep of history, and they are linked to geographical locations and, unfortunately, even to individual firms (Parker suggests some ways of lessening that).

Improving productivity offers mixed blessings, threatening some jobs and saving (at least for a while) others. So unions are often mainly interested in saving existing jobs. Also, raising social productivity is in workers' general interest if they can capture enough of the benefit. Successfully fighting job loss through militant defen-

Continued on page 22



By Stephen Hoffius

HAROLD PINTER'S LATEST play deals with issues of torture and interrogation in an unnamed country. But don't expect to see it playing on Broadway soon. Or even off-Broadway.

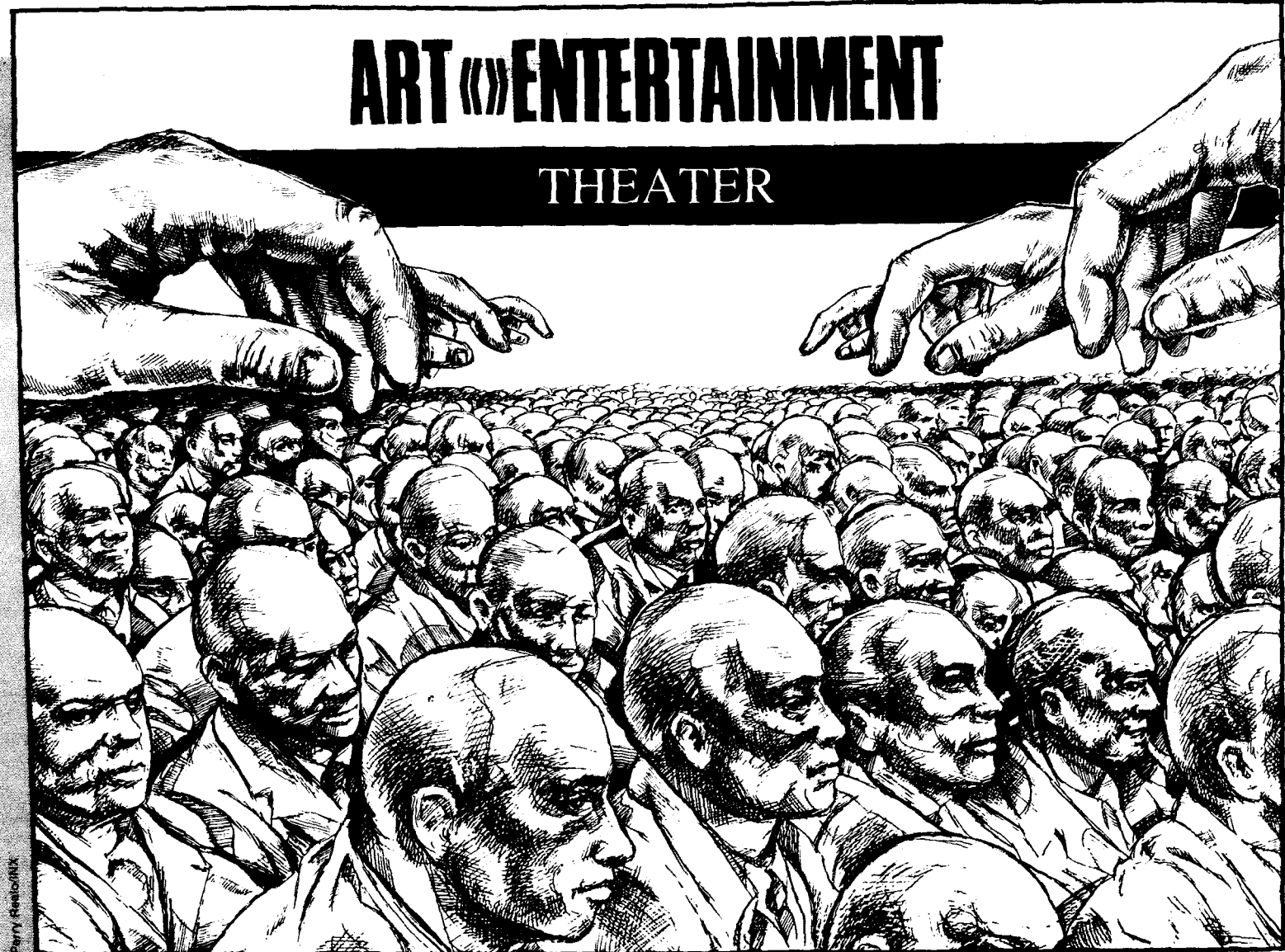
The play, *One for the Road*, had its American premiere January 18 in Charleston, S.C. It was produced by the local Amnesty International chapter as a fundraiser. More than \$1,500 was raised, divided between Amnesty International's ongoing Urgent Action campaign and a planned Minneapolis hospital that will treat victims of torture. Pinter approved the production and agreed to take no royalties.

One for the Road features a family of three—father, mother and 11-year-old son—who are detained in an unnamed country for unspecified crimes. After being tortured, they are brought one by one before a uniformed officer who alternately teases them and brutally punishes them. The story is his—a man who praises a woman's father and then rapes her, who beats a prisoner and rewards himself with a drink, "one for the road." Pinter's play concerns the contradictions and justifications within the mind of a torturer.

It is based on real torturers, who were described in an article for the British newspaper *The Observer* by Andrew Graham-Yooll, former city editor of the *Buenos Aires Herald*. Pinter, a friend of the author's, saw the article and developed *One for the Road* from it.

The play was first produced in England in March 1984. It starred Alan Bates as the torturer. About the time of that production, Graham-Yooll sent the script to his former *Buenos Aires Herald* editor, Robert Cox, now assistant editor of the *Charleston (S.C.) News and Courier*.

Like Graham-Yooll, Cox had fled Argentina when he learned that he would soon be arrested. In Charleston, he and his Argentine wife Maud became involved with Amnesty International. When Maud Cox read Pinter's play, she immediately sought to have the group produce it locally. But first the other members of Amnesty In-



New Pinter work spotlights torture

ternational had to be convinced.

Even Bob Cox hesitated. He had lived in Argentina during a time when torture and "disappearances" were common, and was "interrogated" himself. "I thought then," he says, "that only through a play or novel could the experience be presented." But this play seemed to him "too strong" for an audience, if remarkably accurate.

Others objected to the play's harsh language, or feared that its production would demand too much work. But Maud Cox insisted. She wrote Pinter asking for permission to produce the play. His agent in New York agreed, and

said Pinter would waive any royalties.

Robert Ivey, local theater director and choreographer, was chosen to direct the play. In addition, he choreographed a new ballet, "Oppression," about the same themes as the play. It was presented at the same performance. After practice, explains Ivey, the dancers would stay to watch the play rehearsals, entranced by Pinter's work.

According to Ivey, "Many of the actors who auditioned for the play were shocked, uneasy about the violence that is depicted." All members of the cast were younger than 30 and knew little about the

existence of torture before beginning work on the play. But as rehearsals continued, Ivey says, they "started bringing in articles about human rights issues. They read books about the Nuremberg trials. It opened them up to issues they had known nothing about."

The members of the audience also appeared stunned by the performance. It is a bleak play. The interrogator, Nicolas, jokes casually as he engages in vicious acts of violence. His authority is never challenged. "I run the place," he announces. "God speaks through me. I'm referring to the Old Testament God, by the way, although I'm a long way from being Jewish."

He apparently orders an 11-year-old boy killed for kicking and spitting on officers as he was taken off to prison. At the play's conclusion, Nicolas is ready to release the boy's father. He offers the

necessary papers, but the father, battered physically and psychologically, cannot even reach for them. The papers are dropped and float silently to the floor.

Ivey hopes the play will be presented again, noting that other Amnesty International chapters in the area have expressed an interest in sponsoring it. It may also be performed during Charleston's Spoleto Festival USA, the international arts festival that takes place here in May and June.

Amnesty International members are satisfied with the response they received. "It was a new way for us to explain the problem of torture around the world," says group coordinator Maria Cordova, a Chilean dentist and assistant physiology professor. "It is wonderful that we also made money, but that wasn't our major concern."

Stephen Hoffius is a freelance writer in Charleston, S.C.

SOUNDTRACKS

Pretty packages play with panic

By Simon Frith

BRIAIN'S FIRST NUMBER-one single of 1986 was Pet Shop Boys' "West End Girls." It's the first record for months that I've rushed out to buy, too, caught by one radio play.

My favorite version is the Shep Pettibone mastermix. He gets the Boys' pretensions just right, pointing up the record's anomaly—its thumping, imported NY beat is filtered through prissy English voices. Pet Shop Boys are, after all, just another UK pop group, showroom dummies with electronic equipment and a memory bank of old club and disco riffs.

There are hundreds of duos like this. Pretty packages, synthetic

centers, they roll off record company assembly lines like new sweets from a candy factory. What makes Pet Shop Boys special is their sense of tacky drama. "West End Girls" is the Naked City as conceived by design students, a confused glimpse of menace in which even paranoia has the right shirt on. It's the chart version of the cinema ads currently aimed at young Brits, Canadian Club drinkers and Levi wearers flattered by being given roles in Cold War stories and futuristic thrillers.

My Christmas present to myself was the most expensive record I ever bought, the soundtrack of Lawrence Kasden's *Body Heat*. This was officially released when the film came out in 1981 but immediately withdrawn. It's now

available only as an "Official Collectors' item"—I found it in my favorite London record shop, 94 Dean Street, soundtrack specialists.

Body Heat's music is redolent with the film's sticky, languorous, fetid mood. A breathy sax plays over a nagging, four-note keyboard phrase that comes back again and again, like waves on the sand; strings long for a climax that never comes. Like all great film scores this has nothing to do with pictures, but works at the highest level of abstraction pop music can reach. (I love soundtracks for formal reasons.) But there's another story here, too. *Body Heat* is a John Barry score and John Barry is the key to 30 years of Brit-pop atmospherics.

The real thing

He started his career as an arranger and bandleader in the '50s—he seized the moment when established British musicians had to adjust to rock'n'roll. What's forgotten now is how this meant, in practice, seizing images of the USA, images taken from American films and, more particularly, from the newly available American TV series. British instrumental groups—the Shadows are the most

famous example—derived large chunks of their repertoires from U.S. themes and soundtracks.

Barry did this best of all. He was a trumpeter who idolized the Stan Kenton Band and learned to arrange from American postal courses. He was just 24 when he formed the John Barry 7 in 1957. They were quickly popular in the dance halls, and their blend of professional *nous* and rock verve gave them a permanent place in Britain's first teen TV shows. Barry began to arrange for singers and, in launching Adam Faith to stardom, invented "stringbeat," his band, twangy guitar to the fore, supplemented by a *pizzicato* violin section, based on Buddy Holly's "It Doesn't Matter Any more."

In 1960 Barry scored Adam Faith's debut film—*Beat Girl* was the first British soundtrack album and Barry's opportunity to show off his jazz arranging skills. In 1962 his hit version of the James Bond theme was so obviously right that he was booked to score the next Bond film himself. By the mid-'60s he was an in-demand composer in Hollywood as well as London. Hence, eventually, *Body Heat*.

But the point of this brief life of one of my oldest heroes (his father owned the cinema where I saw my first rock'n'roll show) is not Barry's destination but his roots. *Beat Girl*, for example, is a pretty silly film—the British B-movie version of beatniks and juvenile kicks is earnestly innocuous—and Barry's score worked brilliantly both as a pastiche of the U.S. beat originals and as a kind of stylized yearning for the real thing.

As a film scorer Barry has classic virtues—a mastery of texture, an imaginative use of fringe instruments, an instinct for restraint. But his best soundtracks and, in particular, '60s scores like *The Knack*, *The Ipcress File* and the various Bond films, work with a peculiarly British grasp of sex and glamor and violence at second hand. Which is where the Pet Shop Boys come in, their eyes pressed to the window of American street life. On your side of the glass that means, along with much else, panic and death and madness; from our side everything is just a pose to play with.

Simon Frith teaches sociology at the University of Warwick.

Workplace

Continued from page 21

siveness can be undermined, especially in the current economic context, by later loss of jobs due to foreign competition of capital flight.

But Parker also lays out a plan for union initiative that attempts to avoid the pitfalls of management QWL and to fill the void in workers' lives left by both traditional management and unionism. He suggests ways unions can turn unavoidable QWL plans to their own ends as part of a broader program of industry-wide coordination, labor solidarity and controls on investment that permit unions to set their own goals

and fight for them rather than simply respond to management decisions. Howard proposes a comparable broad approach—but with less detail—that concentrates on greater union control over the design and introduction of new technology, "the Achilles' heel of union control in the workplace."

Despite their heavy reliance on unionism as a solution, ultimately the answer to the challenges raised by the Brave New Workplace cannot be addressed adequately in those workplaces. Work—and concomitant economic decisions—cannot remain a private matter, as Howard argues, but must become issues of public debate and decision. And the goals must be greater worker security, power and creative freedom as well as the growing productivity that benefits everyone in society directly, not just by dribbling down from above.

Eastern

Continued from page 3

Eastern's investment in new planes gives it even less advantage over other airlines.

Why did the company incur such debt, much of it at a time when it was already in trouble? Borman claims it was expand or die. But union consultants note that Chase and Citibank are not only lead lenders to Eastern (and have strong board ties) but also are lead lenders to Boeing, the source of many Eastern planes that was also recently near collapse. Eastern got attractive prices and financing, yet the burden remained too great.

Previously the banks played a prominent role in dictating company policy and labor strategies. But this year observers say the banks are holding back, partly because they likely fear that, in case of bankruptcy, being considered part of management may lose their secured position as debtors. The banks, however, have never missed an interest payment, and the biggest ones have their loans well secured with Eastern's planes and other assets.

In addition to its other problems, Eastern has been badly managed, according to the unions and their financial advisers. The huge savings generated by the Machinists barely scratch the surface. Last summer Borman attempted to force pilots to fly more hours and accept two-tier salaries. When he failed, the company was left with a pilot shortage and had to cut flights by 5 percent in late 1985, which could account for Eastern's plummet in the final quarter.

Eastern management also overreacted to price-cutting, matching a People Express \$49 fare from Newark to Florida at all New York area airports. Then there were parts shortages and late flights, both of which led to canceled flights and lost income. Many passengers who paid \$49 for their tickets received \$50 rebate coupons for being delayed.

Despite these financial problems, Eastern hired 4,000 new employees in the last two years, many of them new reservation agents hired—union's suspect—in an effort to foil an organizing drive by the Machinists and Electrical Workers (IUE). Despite the hiring, performance did not improve.

Flight attendants recently lined up 1,010 senior workers who agreed to take volun-

tary leaves to meet Eastern's layoff goal. But Eastern preferred punitive layoffs, even though it cost more to get rid of the lower-paid new employees. Attendants had proposed a job-sharing plan that would have saved Eastern millions of dollars and given workers more flexibility. The company rejected it.

Until Eastern cut off access to their books early this year, union consultants had ferreted out much valuable information. "We know where the bodies are buried," one Machinist consultant said. "We know what parts of the company are inefficient, which in turn has allowed us to talk credibly that you don't have to work harder, give up work rules or lay off people to work more efficiently."

Crisis of confidence

Eventually Eastern workers may be forced into a choice of making concessions or watching the company go bankrupt. But most, especially Machinists leaders, insist that every efficiency must be achieved first and that Borman and his allies have demonstrated their unwillingness or inability to manage the airline effectively. Cuts in workers' pay or benefits should be the final solution.

"Eastern needs some help in some areas," McGarry said. "They don't need it in all areas that they ask. They take the easiest way of taking from employees."

"To say we don't have any confidence in them is to put it mildly," TWU spokesperson Nicholson said. "They don't know how to run an airline. There has to be something to put them back on track."

Meanwhile, the flight attendants are forming alliances with women's groups and other unions, taking up collections to assist laid-off attendants and mounting demonstrations in major Eastern centers.

Management believes that the current low-fare competition is permanent and is the overwhelming cause of its problems. "Carriers that have not reached labor agreements for permanent cost adjustments will be in peril," Cosley said. "The problem is

not between Eastern and its unions, but between the unions as an institution and the free marketplace. The marketplace is now determining wages."

But few observers believe the fare war will continue indefinitely. Other airlines hope that Eastern will be the weak link that falls. But even that would only temporarily reduce competition, which has now assumed "the most crude form capitalist competition can take," one union adviser said.

Some unionists, like steward Paul Baicich—who has written frequently about what he sees as admirable but flawed Eastern union strategies—believe that there is "no Eastern solution to Eastern problems." The problem is deregulation, nonunion airlines, political impotence and union disarray, which management can exploit to set unions against each other. The union's drive for influence and efficiency has bought time, but he argues that the pressure for concessions will continue.

Can Borman use the bank or bankruptcy threat to cow the unions? Can the unions mount a credible challenge to his position as chairman and force accommodations? Will Borman be able to use the pilots, or even the international leaders of the Machinists, to batter down the resistance of District 100 leadership? Can the flight attendants find sufficiently powerful allies to reverse the draconian conditions forced on them? If pilots or attendants are left with no option but to strike or submit, can management turn that strike into a weapon against labor?

These are only a few of the unanswered questions in this year's Eastern showdown. Workers have already proved that they can bring great productivity increases if given the opportunity, as they were at Eastern, to protect job security by "contracting in" new work. Cooperation mandated in the 1983 agreement has apparently not undermined worker militancy. It may even have increased it, as workers feel deeply betrayed by a management that showed how little it values cooperation, except in making concessions.

Socialist Scholars Conference

REBELLION, RESISTANCE, REVOLT

April 18, 19 & 20, 1986

Boro of Manhattan Community College, CUNY
199 Chambers Street (near Trade Center), New York City

The usual suspects and hundreds more...

- | | | |
|----------------------|----------------------|---------------------|
| • Stanley Aronowitz | • Paul Sweezy | • William Kornblum |
| • Joanne Landy | • Irving Howe | • Paulette Pierce |
| • Bogdan Denitch | • Michael Harrington | • Frances Fox Piven |
| • Barbara Ehrenreich | • Robert Lekachman | • Daniel Singer |
| • William Tabb | • Barbara Epstein | • Cornel West |

These and dozens of other panels in formation:

Hungary: The 1956 Revolt
Liberation Theology and the Catholic Church
Black Families and Social Policy
Is There A Literary Crisis?
American Agriculture in Collapse: The Economics of Food
American Foreign Policy and the Philippines
The Politics of Gay Rights

Sponsors/Participants (in formation)

CUNY Ph.D. Program in Sociology, and *Dissent*, *Nation*, Institute for Democratic Socialism, Mid-Atlantic Radical Historians Organization, *Monthly Review*, *Social Policy*, *Social Text*, *Socialist Review*, *Telos*, CUNY Democratic Socialist Faculty Club, CUNY Democratic Socialist Graduate Student Club, South End Press, The Fabian Society, The Generation After, *Against the Current*, *The New Society*, *Science and Society*, Campaign for Democracy—East and West, *Semiotext*, *Cineaste*, The Bildner Center for Western Hemisphere Studies, *Socialist Politics*, *Dialectical Anthropology*, New York Committee for Marxist Education, Union for Radical Political Economics, *The Guardian*, Bergin & Garvey Publishers.

Registration Form

Make checks payable to "Social Scholars Conference" and mail to:

R.L. Norman, Jr.,
CUNY Democratic Socialists Club, Rm. 901,
33 West 42nd St., New York, N.Y. 10036.

Preregistration

_____ \$17.50 _____ \$10 (1 day) _____ \$10
(student/low income)

Regular Registration

_____ \$25.00 _____ \$12.50 (1 day) _____ \$12.50
(student/low income)

Professional Childcare available during the day on Saturday and Sunday.

☐ I need childcare for _____ children.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

IN THESE TIMES

SUBSCRIBER SERVICES

I AM

(if applicable, affix your mailing label here)

Name _____

Address _____

City, State, Zip _____

☐ **MOVING** Tell us where so IN THESE TIMES can join you at your new home.

NEW address _____

City, State, Zip _____

If possible affix your mailing label to facilitate the change. If no label is available, be sure to include both the new and OLD zip codes with the complete addresses. Please allow 4-6 weeks for the address change.

☐ **SUBSCRIBING** Fill out your name and address above and we will have IN THESE TIMES with news and analysis you can't find anywhere else, in your mailbox within 4-6 weeks. (check price/term below) **STN5**

☐ **RENEWING** Do it now and keep IN THESE TIMES coming without interruption. Affix your mailing label above and we will renew your account to automatically extend when your current subscription expires. (check price/term below) **RST5**

☐ **SHOPPING** Give an IN THESE TIMES gift subscription. It makes a perfect gift for friends, relatives, students or associates. Send IN THESE TIMES as my gift to: (I have filled out my name and address above)

Name _____

Address _____

City, State, Zip _____

A handsome gift card will be sent. How would you like it signed? **STH5**

PRICE/TERM

- | | |
|---|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> One year \$34.95 | <input type="checkbox"/> Student/Retired One year \$24.95 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Six months \$18.95 | <input type="checkbox"/> One year (institutional) \$59.00 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Payment enclosed | <input type="checkbox"/> Bill me later |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Charge my VISA/MC acct # _____ Exp. date _____ | |
- Above prices for U.S. residents only. Foreign orders add \$13 per year.

☐ **COMPLAINING** Let us know, we want to help. Our subscribers are important to us. We want to make sure you receive the best of service. Please affix your mailing label above or give the name and address on the subscription. What seems to be wrong?

IN THESE TIMES CUSTOMER SERVICE, 1300 W. Belmont, Chicago, IL 60657
(312) 472-5700

Letterman

Continued from page 24

man. His unfunny, two-joke "monologue" is not so much a monologue as it is itself a running joke about monologues, much as his just-folks verbal mannerisms ("gee whiz," "we're just sick about it") are spoken with the quotation marks virtually audible. The hallmark of a feature like Brush with Greatness is that it focuses on the trivial and the inane, and while it may be true that nearly everything on television is trivial and inane, Letterman puts that self-conscious, modernist spin on it by deliberately making us laugh at our taste in trash culture even as he rubs our noses in it.

Contempt and complicity

Up to a point, this is fascinating and maybe even brilliant television. After all, how can you fault a show that regularly deflates the idea of celebrity, that goes out of its way to savage its own genre? At its best, *Late Night* pushes beyond mere irreverence to a kind of subversion, rivalling even *Monty Python* in its shrewdness about the medium and its demolition of its clichés.

After a while, thought, it begins to get creepy, for unlike *Monty Python*, Letterman comes across not so much as a satirist as he does a smartass. Great satire arises out of outrage; Letterman's humor arises out of a wiseguy contempt for just about everybody and everything. Part of it is a justifiable contempt for the worst of commodity culture, but part of it is a Midwestern provincialism, a small-town distrust of the strange and the eccentric. Once I saw him ridicule to the point of cruelty Nastassia Kinski, who made the mistake of being nervous and wearing a bizarre hairdo. Worse still, she was unable to defend herself. In this respect, Letterman is something

of a schoolyard bully: he treats with respect only those who are as witty as he is, or whose celebrity is greater than his. Everybody else is fair game.

At the root of it all, though, is a sheer contempt for people, which for an entertainer means the audience. Not that there's anything new about that. The show-biz tradition of contempt for the audience is easily as old as the idea itself of professional entertainment. In part it is the disdain of the members of any profession toward the rest of the world, especially those professions that deal directly with the public, from doctors and lawyers to waiters and shopclerks. It comes from the difference between what the customer sees in the dining room and what the waiter knows to be true about the kitchen (see Orwell's *Down and Out in Paris and London*). How can you not have contempt for the willful ignorance of customers, when all it would take to learn the truth would be to get up from the table, walk 30 feet to the kitchen and see for themselves?

Yet there is something special about the contempt of showpeople for their audience. For one thing, it is possible, anyway, to imagine honest and honorable doctors and waiters. Show-biz, though, is founded on artifice and deception; a certain kind of lie is necessary to entertainment. The entertainer, who knows that he is not so much eliciting an honest emotional response as he is simply pulling the right strings, is bound to think of the audience as suckers, stooges and marks.

What's different about David Letterman is that, unlike stand-up comics from time immemorial who have bid their audiences "God bless" and "drive safely," unlike talk show hosts like Carson and Steve Allen who engage their audience in an ersatz complicity that implies that we're all in on the joke, unlike game show hosts like Richard Dawson who barely trouble anymore to dis-

guise their contempt, Letterman drags it all to the surface and shoves our noses in it. In one very funny recent skit, the show returned from a commercial break to show two dummies, one at Letterman's desk and the other in the guest's seat, while an old interview with Malcolm Forbes was played. While this droned on, we were shown a nervous Letterman up in the booth being assured by his director that nobody will ever tell the difference and that he might as well take the rest of the day off. Out in the hall he meets Phil Donahue, who assures Dave that he has been doing it for years, and together they take off to buy shoes. Now you can either read this as brilliant satire, or a stunning display of contempt for the audience. I prefer to see it as both.

Beyond Brecht

The point is, even Johnny Carson couldn't get away with it. For all his wit, Carson comes from, and plays to, an older generation, and still finds it necessary to disguise his contempt. He may be a smartass, but at least he's a polite one. Letterman, on the other hand, cultivates insincerity; it's virtually an article of faith of his generation of comedian that suspension of disbelief is not permitted, that the audience is never allowed to forget that it is being "entertained." It would almost be Brechtian if it weren't for the fact that the audience understands all this and still goes for it. Both Letterman and his audience were raised on television; perhaps, like a junkie with a long-standing habit, they need a stronger dose than older audiences to get a rush.

It's not hard to imagine what Letterman would have to say about all this. My little revelation would probably provoke the disgusted, who-is-this-asshole look he does so well. (Letterman can raise a single eyebrow better than anyone in American television since Mr. Spock.) Still, one can only won-

der how far his contempt extends. Certainly a man of his bitter wit and intelligence, who can see the absurdity of America's obsession with the famous, is able to see the absurdity, to say the least, of making a six-figure income out of smarting off on national television.

I'm not saying it would be better if Letterman were angry at the world instead of just annoyed with it. I'm even willing to argue that his cheerful brand of video anarchism is worth more than all the boring, bourgeois snobbery of PBS viewers put together, or more than any number of Jane Fonda movies. My question is simply this: does his contempt for the chintzy values and institutions—and viewers—of corporate television extend to his own participation in it? Is David Letterman laughing at himself all the way to the bank?

James Hynes is a novelist living in Ann Arbor, Mich.

CALENDAR

Use the calendar to announce conferences, lectures, films, events, etc. The cost is **\$20.00 for one insertion, \$30.00 for two insertions and \$15.00 for each additional insert**, for copy of 50 words or less (additional words are 50¢ each). Payment must accompany your announcement, and should be sent to the attention of **ITT Calendar**.

BOSTON, MA

February 26

"Eighth Congressional District Candidates Night." Democratic primary contenders will be asked to address major domestic and foreign policy issues. Kirk Scharfenberg of the *Boston Globe* will serve as moderator. 7:00 p.m. Co-sponsored by Citizens for Participation in Political Action and the Democratic Socialists of America. Admission is free. At the Jackson-Mann Community School, 500 Cambridge St., Union Square, Allston. For more information call 426-9026 or 426-3040.

CLASSIFIED

HELP WANTED

ALTERNATIVE JOBS / INTERNSHIP opportunities! The environment, women's rights, disarmament, media, health, community organizing, and more. Current nation-wide listings—\$3. Community Jobs, Box 429, 1520 16th St., NW, Washington, DC 20036.

LABOR RELATIONS ORGANIZERS and Negotiators: Service Employees International Union is looking for experienced organizers and negotiators for staff positions. Please reply to the Organizing and Field Services Department in care of Helen Page, 1313 L St., NW, Washington, DC 20005. EOE/MSVH.

RESEARCH POSITION. 9to5, National Association of Working Women, seeks experienced researcher. Knowledge of VDT health and safety issues, women's employment issues essential. Excellent benefits. Salary negotiable. Send resume, cover letter and writing sample to: Karen Nussbaum, 9to5, 1224 Huron Road, Cleveland, OH 44115.

CONTRACT ADMINISTRATOR/FIELD STAFF/BUSINESS AGENT/ORGANIZER. The Committee of Interns and Residents, a union of salaried doctors in the public and private sector will be hiring one or more field staff in the coming months. Salary \$26,000 rising to over \$30,000 after two years. Excellent benefits and four weeks vacation. Experience on Trade Union staff an important consideration. Other organizational experience also important as is a background in healthcare. Minority candidates are encouraged to apply. Resumes only should be sent to: Com-

mittee of Interns and Residents, 386 Park Ave. South, New York, NY 10016, Attention: Dr. McIntosh.

HEALTH CARE ORGANIZERS — Champaign County Health Care Consumers. CCHCC is a locally based organization that fights for consumer rights in health care. Position requires some organizing experience, strong commitment to social change and willingness to work long hours. Salary \$10,000-\$14,000 plus benefits. Deadline March 7, 1986. Send resume or call Mike Doyle, CCHCC, 124 N. Neil, Room 211, Champaign, IL 61820. (217) 352-6533.

ASSOCIATE PRODUCER—CONSIDER THE ALTERNATIVES. Nationally-syndicated weekly documentary and interview program seeks A.P. with strong writing, interviewing and production skills, journalistic sense and knowledge of wide range of foreign and domestic policy issues. Send letter, resume and production samples (no calls) to: SANE/CTA, 5808 Green St., Philadelphia, PA 19144. Hiring in Spring. \$16,000 plus benefits. EOE/AA.

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, WILPF: Responsible for program fiscal, personnel management and public relations of national women's organization in Philadelphia. Past experience with political, board/membership organization. Fringe benefits. Deadline April 1, 1986. Send resume to: WILPF-RJB, 1213 Race St., Philadelphia, PA 19107.

PROOF JESUS FICTIONAL!

SCHOLARLY BOOKLET conclusively proves Roman Calpurnius Piso (pen-name Flavius Josephus) & his family created fictional Jesus, authored New Testament. Send \$4.90 to Vector Box 6215-J, Bellevue, WA 98008

FDA'S WAR ON MILK

IMMUNE MILK is effective in treating arthritis, asthma, and other ills. FDA forbids it. Could it be effective in treating AIDS? Research forbidden. \$4.00 to WAR ON MILK, Box 12861, St. Paul, MN 55112.

PUBLICATIONS

GAY COMMUNITY NEWS—"The gay movement's newspaper of record." Each week GCN brings you current informative news and analysis of lesbian and gay liberation. Feminist, non-profit. AND there's a monthly Book Review Supplement. Now in our 12th year. \$29.00 for the year (50 issues). \$17.00 for 25 weeks. Send check to GCN Subscriptions, Suite 509, 167 Tremont St., Boston, MA 02111.

BOOKS

SOVIET UNION analysis unlike those of the "left" or "right." Modern 'Asiatic' Despotism—Frank Barbaria. 400 pp., Index, 30 pp., 10 maps. \$8 soft, \$15 hardcover. IDEAS Pub., 8649 Springfield Ave., La Mesa, CA 92041.

HOMES

GOVERNMENT HOMES from \$1.00. (U-repair). Also delinquent tax prop-

erty. Call 1-805-687-6000, Ext., GH-2440 for information.

PERSONALS

MEET OTHER LEFT SINGLES through Concerned Singles Newsletter. All areas. Sample: \$1.00. P.O. Box 7737-T, Berkeley, CA 94707.

ATTENTION

MOVING? Let *In These Times* be the first to know. Send us a current label from your newspaper along with your new address. Please allow 4-6 weeks to process the change. Send to: *In These Times*, Circulation Dept., 1300 W. Belmont, Chicago, IL 60657.

VOLUNTEERS

ITT NEEDS VOLUNTEERS in the Business Dept. Gain political/practical experience in a stimulating environment. Flexible hours available between 9-5, Mon.-Fri. Benefits include staff subscription rates, ping-

pong. Call Hania at (312) 472-5700.

T-SHIRTS

FANTASTIC T-SHIRTS!! "Wanted for State Terrorism:" Reagan, Bush, Shultz, Weinberger, with photos and offenses, black on white; "Ever Consider a Career in Murder, Torture, Rape, Overthrow of Sovereign Governments—The CIA Wants YOU!" red on beige, 100% cotton, all sizes. Proceeds support Latin American Solidarity Committee Activities. \$8.00 to LASA, 4120 Michigan Union, Ann Arbor, MI 48109.

POSTERS

ORIGINAL PROTEST POSTERS from South Africa — "Forward to Freedom"; "Release Our People"; 1986 Calendar Poster from the Federation of South African Trade Unions. All proceeds to SA liberation groups. \$7.50 each, \$20.00 for three, plus \$2.00 handling. Poster Project, P.O. Box 578118, Chicago, IL 60657.

In These Times Classified Ads Grab Attention

and work like your own sales force. Your message will reach 96,000 responsive readers each week (72% made a mail order purchase last year). ITT classifieds deliver a big response for a little cost.

Word Rates:

80¢ per word / 1 or 2 issues
70¢ per word / 3-5 issues
65¢ per word / 6-9 issues
60¢ per word / 10-19 issues
50¢ per word / 20 or more issues

Display Inch Rates:

\$22 per inch / 1 or 2 issues
\$20 per inch / 3-5 issues
\$18 per inch / 6-9 issues
\$16 per inch / 10-19 issues
\$13 per inch / 20 or more issues

All classified advertising must be prepaid. Advertising deadline is Wednesday 14 days before the date of publication. All issues dated on Wednesday

Enclosed is my check for \$_____ for \$_____ week(s)
Please indicate desired heading

Advertiser _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____

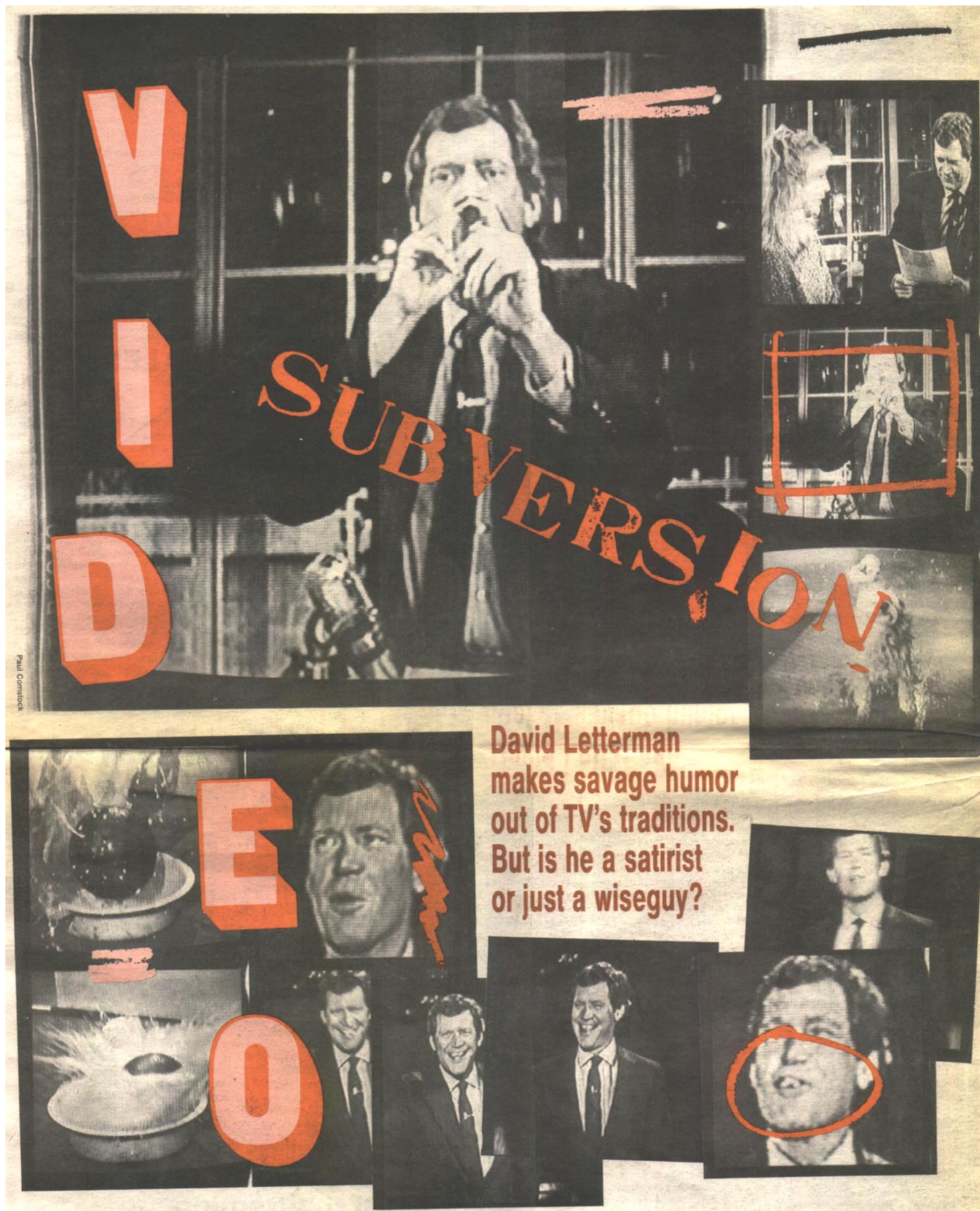
Zip _____

Send to

IN THESE TIMES, Classified Ads, 1300 W. Belmont, Chicago, IL 60657

This publication is available in microform from University Microfilms International.

Call toll-free 800-521-3044. In Michigan, Alaska and Hawaii call collect 313-761-4700. Or mail inquiry to: University Microfilms International, 300 North Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106



David Letterman
makes savage humor
out of TV's traditions.
But is he a satirist
or just a wiseguy?

By James Hynes

THE BEST PART OF *LATE NIGHT WITH David Letterman*, which has become the hottest spot for advertisers in its time slot, is usually the first 10 or 15 minutes. The host is announced, usually with a grandiose lie about his celebrity—"And now, the man who led the National Football League in touchdowns for three years running, DAY-VID LETTERMAN!"—and as Letterman comes across the stage, the director invariably cuts to a shot from behind the audience, so that we see the backs of the audiences' heads, a video monitor showing Letterman crossing the stage and, very

small in the background, Letterman crossing the stage. Then for a few minutes Letterman, looking astonishingly like Alfred E. Newman in a suit, stands alone in medium shot, introducing bandleader Paul Shaffer and telling a few tepid jokes.

Once the preliminaries are out of the way, Letterman usually leads off with one of his trademark features: Stupid Pet Tricks, the Steamroller (people on the street tell what they'd like to see run over by a steamroller; cut to said object—five whoopee cushions, a styrofoam cooler full of beer, a Smurf doll—being flattened under said steamroller), Brush with Greatness (interviews with audience members who have met famous people, such as the man who cut in line at an amusement park in front of the guy who

played Greg on *The Brady Bunch*). Sometimes these are replaced by bizarre contests (pitting tracking dogs against a Russian psychic) or even more bizarre demonstrations (the Italian woman who dresses parrots up as celebrities). As you might expect, the rest of the show is often a letdown. Guests like Bill Murray and Don Johnson may be hot, but how can they compete with the Tri-State Grocery Bagging Champion?

It took me a while to get the point, but when I did, it came to me with the force of revelation, and I sat right up in bed one night like Archimedes discovering the displacement of water, clapped my hand to my forehead and said to myself, Holy shit, this is quintessential late-20th-century en-

tertainment. This is television about television. This is *modernism*! Whereas *The Tonight Show*, from which *Late Night* is in direct descent (Carson's production company co-produces *Late Night*), only occasionally, and only by accident, achieves the status of video epiphany, *Late Night* strives for it. Night after night the show deliberately calls attention to itself as a television show.

Letterman has some of Johnny Carson's cheerful Midwestern cynicism, but he also has much of the New Comedy nihilism of a Steve Martin or the late, great Andy Kauf-

Continued on page 23

